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P R E F A C E

From the very outset Professor Bernhard Karlgren has been very intimately associated with our Bulletin and has contributed important articles to every one of the volumes so far issued.

One of these contributions from the famous sinologue entitled »Word families in Chinese» (vol. 5) is a purely philological survey of some essential characteristics of the Chinese language, an essay intended to pave the way for a far more extensive research work on the affinities of the Chinese language within the complex language-world of the Far East.

Three of his articles *The authenticity of ancient Chinese texts* (Vol. 1), *The early History of the Chou Li and Tso Chuan Texts* (Vol. 3) and *Shi King Researches* (Vol. 4) form very important contributions towards the building up of a new platform for archaeological research in China.

When in the years 1915—20 the writer of this editorial preface met the young Peking intelligensia and listened to their discussions, he found to his intense surprise that the classical canons, venerated since times immemorial, were thrown to the four winds in a critical effort to dig down to the solid bedrock of historical truth. The Chou Li, for instance, was regarded with considerable *hauteur* as a late compilation prepared at the end of the Western Han dynasty. Full advantage had hardly as yet been taken, for the purposes of historical research, of the inscribed bones and tortoise shells known already then to a considerable extent to have been unearthed from the waste of Yin, and it was held that, on the whole, the solid beginnings of historical data did not go back further than to the eighth century B.C.

We have now entered up on a period of reconstructive research. Full advantage is being taken by Chinese and foreign scholars of the inscriptions of Anyang for outlining the culture of the Chinese at the end of the Shang. We begin to realize that the literature of early and middle Chou does exist not only in texts copied and recopied during generations for two thousand years, but also in lengthy inscriptions on bronze vessels cast at a time when that fundamental literature was still young. And last but not least important, Chinese scholars and our Professor Karlgren have been able to revive and reestablish upon strictly scientific foundations the belief in the Chinese classics, thus offering to the archaeologist reliable literary means of corroborating the finds recently brought to light from ancient tombs.

In a paper *Some fecundity symbols in ancient China* (Vol. 2) Karlgren turned his attention to the folklore side of archaeological research and in *Early Chinese mirror*

inscriptions and in *The date of the Piao bells* (Vol. 6) he entered the field of epigraphy in real earnest.

After these preliminary studies he was well equipped for working out the masterly contribution to Chinese early bronze chronology which he has given us in the present volume under the title *Yin and Chou in Chinese bronzes*. Advance copies of this work were presented at the inauguration of the international exhibition of Chinese art at Burlington House in November last year. Karlgren's book at once attracted a great deal of interest, and the demand for these advance copies at our London agency grew far beyond our boldest expectations.

It has been an exceptional privilege to the staff of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities to witness the birth of Karlgren's work and it has afforded the editor of this periodical special satisfaction to have the honour of publishing a volume which will undoubtedly mark an important step forward along the road towards unravelling the history of early Chinese bronzes.

J. G. Andersson.

YIN AND CHOU IN CHINESE BRONZES

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

The present article has grown out of discussions carried on for many years between Professor J. G. Andersson and myself. Throughout the preparation of the paper he has given me invaluable help and advice. The article has been written in collaboration with Miss Birgit Åkerdahl, assistant at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Museum officials and private collectors in various countries have very kindly facilitated the researches, among others, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden, Mr. Anders Hellström, Professor O. Kümmel, Dr. Reidemeister, Herr H. G. Oeder, Herr H. Hardt, Mrs. Margot Holmes, Mrs. M. Sedgwick, Professor C. G. Seligman, Professor W. P. Yetts, Mr. J. Sparks, Mr. Thorbe.

In the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities a summary has been published of the principles on which an exhibition of bronzes was organized in the Museum in 1933: a classification and a sketch of a chronology of Archaic Chinese bronzes.¹⁾

This article was of an entirely preliminary nature and was intended to be a point of departure for a more detailed investigation. The present paper is to be regarded as a first contribution of this kind. On many points it has been possible to confirm and support the theories advanced in the preliminary article. On other points a revision has had to be made, as is but natural, since here philological data have been made use of which were not available to the authors of the preliminary article.

One of the fundamental novelties of that sketch was the conclusions there drawn from the now famous Piao bells and their inscription. This fact raised the question: how far can the bronze inscriptions aid in establishing a real chronology of archaic Chinese bronzes? We attempt here a contribution to the answer to that question. It should be emphasized that also the present paper is no more than a sketch. We have limited our investigations so far to certain fundamental features, and a great number of questions of detail in regard both to the inscriptions and to the vessels have to be left to future research. We hope to revert very soon to these various problems and to publish new studies which are to form sequels to the present one.

In the West the Chinese bronze inscriptions have been very little utilized for the purpose of determining the age of the bronzes and their stylistic system. Isol-

¹⁾ The Exhibition of Early Chinese Bronzes arranged on the occasion of the 13th International Congress of the History of Art, Stockholm September 1933, BMFEA No. 6, 1934.

ated bronze inscriptions have been made use of occasionally, especially by Yetts, but no attempt has ever been made at a comprehensive study of the whole of this field.

The bronze inscriptions have been zealously studied by Chinese scholars for centuries, and the literature on the subject is very extensive. A full and very carefully prepared bibliography of all works of value relating thereto has been published by Yetts in his Eumorfopoulos Catalogue. Still more comprehensive catalogues are in the hands of every sinologue (Cf. T'oung Pao vol. XXVII p. 361). Every year, however, brings forth new works on inscriptions. These have been carefully recorded, among others by Miss Jung Yüan in her excellent yearly reviews in the *Yen king hüe pao*. It is not our intention to publish here a bulky book-list, since the sources are so well recorded in Chinese works. We shall make free use, eclectically, of the ideas and results of the studies of a series of brilliant Chinese scholars, old and new.

Even the most recent scholars like Kuo Mo-jo and Wu K'i-ch'ang¹⁾, who have made a study of the Chou time inscriptions with a special view to their chronology, have paid chief attention to the inscriptions themselves. The vessels and their types and styles have taken a secondary place. They do not study the inscriptions as a means of classifying the vessels and drawing stylistic conclusions, but in order to gain historical knowledge from the texts. It is typical that Kuo Mo-jo, a man of a very independent and radical mind, occasionally adduces the type and decoration of a vessel, but then only in support and confirmation of the date given to its inscription²⁾. Our task in the present work is exactly the opposite.

We shall try first to classify the inscriptions in their chronological order, without any side-glances at the types of the vessels; and once this literary chronology has been established we shall use it as a means for classifying the vessels, their types and decoration, in chronological groups.

It may seem strange that Western sinologues have not tried this method earlier to any great extent. One of the chief reasons for this must have been that they seriously hesitated to pronounce on the authenticity of the bronze inscriptions. It has seemed to them to be an exceedingly risky and thankless task elaborating a chronological system on the basis of inscriptions which might in many cases be forgeries, since we know how extremely skilful the Chinese art forgers are in producing pseudo-archaic bronzes with more or less elaborate inscriptions.³⁾ A typical representative of this Western distrust is H. Maspero. He winds up his review of Takata's *Kochūhen* (*Journal Asiatique* 1927) with a lengthy dis-

¹⁾ Kuo-mo-jo, *Liang Chou kin wen ts'i ta hi*; Wu K'i-ch'ang, *Kin wen i nien piao*, *Peip'ing t'u shu kuan kuan k'an* 6.

²⁾ On one important point, however, the so-called Ts'in style (Huai style), he makes use of the inscriptions in order to advocate its early appearance.

³⁾ Cf. Shang Ch'eng-tso, *Ku tai i k'i wei ts'i yen kiu*, *Kin ling hüe pao* vol. 3.

cussion on the authenticity of archaic bronzes, and his judgments are extremely severe. In reading such crushing judgments coming from a sinologue of Maspero's standing the general student may well be discouraged from putting any faith at all in the inscriptions. To me it seems that Maspero's arguments, though at first sight very convincing, are not at all conclusive. Because of the extreme importance of this fundamental question I think it may be worth while examining his chief arguments here.

Maspero's most important objection is this: whenever a bronze has a date which accords with the *san t'ung li* system of Liu Hin's (Han time) — there are a great number of bronzes thus dated — we must suspect it of being a forgery of later ages, the date being a result of a backward calculation. He adduces the famous Kuo ki Tsī po P'an (B 107 below) which has: »In the 12th year, 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day *ting-hai*», and says: »Sa date apporte une preuve décisive contre son authenticité; d'après le calcul en effet, le premier jour du premier mois de la 12^e année du roi Sūan tombe bien un jour *ting-hai* (28 novembre 817 a. C.); et cette coïncidence exacte est invraisemblable: qu'on examine par exemple combien de fois en deux siècles et demi les dates du Ch'un ts'iu sont d'accord avec celles que donne le P. Hoang d'après le calcul? A mon avis il n'est pas douteux que l'inscription soit un faux.» About another vessel again he says: »J'inclinerais à accepter l'autenticité de l'inscription du trépied de Song qui ne fait allusion à aucun fait historique et surtout à une date incorrecte d'après le calcul mathématique.»

It is easily seen that this criticism is highly exaggerated. The only real argument — that of the Ch'un ts'iu — is void of value. If the Ch'un ts'iu of the state Lu does not agree with the *san t'ung li* system, that fact can prove nothing whatever as to the chronology of the Royal Chou court — we are fully aware that a whole series of different chronological systems were in parallel use in Chou time, and to draw such far-reaching conclusions as Maspero does from a document of Lu is certainly not allowable. It may seem to be the height of clever criticism to say that whenever a bronze date agrees with the traditional *san t'ung li* system, it is the result of a backward calculation. But in fact it is only a paradox, as long as it has not been proved that the *san t'ung li* system did not exist in pre-Han times but is a pure construction of Liu Hin's.

The exact opposite of Maspero's position in this question is taken up by Wu K'i-ch'ang, who has published a series of papers¹⁾ in which he maintains that the *san t'ung li* chronology existed and was that of the Royal Chou court already in Western Chou time (1122—771 B. C.). By the aid of this chronology he has tried to determine the exact date of no less than 224 bronze inscriptions. In face of a date like the one just quoted (Kuo ki Tsī po P'an) he endeavours to ascertain which reigns had, in their 12th year and in the 1st quarter of the 1st month,

¹⁾ Yin Chou chi tsī nien li t'uei cheng, in the Kuo hüe lun ts'ung of the Ts'ing Hua University, vol. 2; Kin wen li shuo su cheng, in the Yen king hüe pao vol. 6.

a day *ting-hai* according to the *san t'ung li* system, and he thinks he has found acceptable dates throughout. Now this method is to our mind at any rate preferable to the paradox of Maspero's, which is based on a mere axiom. Wu's theories are at least founded on a painstaking and detailed examination of scores of examples. And yet we dare not accept his results either, in a general way. There is, after all, a fatal point of uncertainty: if we possessed the details of various other chronological systems known to have existed in the Chou era, they might turn out to give different solutions yet quite as satisfactory as the *san t'ung li*. Indeed we know too little of the Western Chou epoch to venture to accept such detailed results. Even as regards the reigns and their number of years, our meagre sources of information, which are many centuries later than Western Chou, are not reconcilable (cf. e. g. Kung-wang's reign, p. 27 below). How can we presume, then, to build up a whole system of bronze chronology on the basis of such astronomical data as the occurrence, according to the *san t'ung li*, of a day *ting-hai* in such and such a month of such and such a reign? In my opinion it is far too bold. After all, we cannot even know whether there was only *one* system in use in Royal Chou during the long period 1122—771. One system may have obtained during a certain reign, been discarded in a following and reintroduced in a third. Or two or more systems may have been in use at the same time, favoured by competing groups of scribes — we can know nothing whatever of this. Our position in regard to the dates of the bronzes is therefore entirely negative. We can never regard an astronomical fact of a Western Chou inscription as a safe instrument for dating; if it tallies well with the traditional reign list and the *san t'ung li*, it is none the less of no value, since another possible reign list now lost and another chronological system now unknown might have given a different result. But we shall be no less disinclined to take such an astronomical fact as an argument against an inscription. It is quite possible that in this particular case the reign list may happen to be correct and the scribe in question may have been an adherent of the *san t'ung li*. To our mind there is no other attitude possible, in regard to Western Chou dates, for which the sources are so few and meagre and of a so much later age, than that of pure agnosticism.

Another point which has thoroughly roused Maspero's suspicions is the fact that there are numerous cases in which the same inscription occurs on several or even a whole series of vessels. He writes (p. 154): »Evidemment il n'y a rien d'impossible à ce qu'on soit tombé parfois sur la cachette où dans l'antiquité une famille avait caché ses vases rituels; mais par quel hasard n'a-t-on jamais fait que des trouvailles où tous les vases portaient la même inscription? . . . Et cette profusion de vases identiques est d'autant plus étrange que les anciens chinois ne paraissent pas avoir volontiers prodigué le métal. . . Quand plusieurs vases portent la même inscription, il est vraisemblable que l'un au moins d'entre eux est un faux, une copie ou une imitation sur laquelle on a reporté l'inscription

du vrai.» This argument is easily refuted, since its statements are not correct. There have frequently been finds in which the vessels have not had the same inscription. Such was e. g. the find in Lo-yang where the famous Nie Ling vessels (B 22—25 below), which differ from one another, were found together with other vessels containing quite different inscriptions (B 30—32 and B 33). Another famous example is that of the two Yü Ting (B 17 and B 19) with different inscriptions, which in the early years of Tao-kuang's reign were found together in Mei-hien of Shensi. A particularly interesting find which combined both phenomena (vessels of different inscriptions found together, and series of vessels with the same inscription) was that in Jen-ts'un of K'i-shan-hien in Shensi, made in 1890. The conditions attending the find were controlled by a special emissary of the famous collector P'an Tsu-yin, as narrated by Lo Chen-yü (Chengsung 3: 35). In one and the same pit were found, first, 6 bells with the same inscription (K'o Chung); secondly, 7 tripods with the same inscription (K'o Ting) different from that of the bells but relating to the same person (K'o); and, thirdly, 4 tripods with the same inscription (Chung I-fu Ting) quite different from that of the K'o Chung and the K'o Ting.

A third argument of Maspero's has surprised me very much indeed. It is when he shows that the Kuo ki Tsī po P'an mentioned above has numerous parallels in phraseology and rimes with certain odes in the Shī king and has also some points of contact with the Shu king, and, because those phrases and rimes are found scattered in various sections of these works, he draws the conclusion: «Il est . . . probable que l'inscription a été fabriquée de toutes pièces à l'aide de centons du Shī king et du Shu king par un lettré moderne» (p. 137). This reasoning might be allowable if it were a question of a modern Western country. In ancient China the same theme, the same phraseology, the same rimed stanzas right in the middle of a prose text crop up everywhere, they are a *commune bonum*, woven by every author into his own fabric without the least hesitation or compunction. Many bronze inscriptions are entirely in verse (see e. g. Wang Kuo-wei: Liang Chou kin shī wen yün tu, in the collected works of that author) and could equally well have been inserted in the Shī king by Confucius as many other poems — there is no difference at all in principle. Many other inscriptions, in prose, are extremely similar to chapters in the Shu king and the Yi Chou shu — a particularly good instance is the famous Mao kung Ting, B 143 below — and, here again, there is really no fundamental difference. They could equally well have occurred in the Yi Chou shu as some of its present chapters. It is important to remember that, as shown by various Chou time passages, the early book in China was the *ritual bronze*. Whereas smaller notes were made on slips of wood or bone or tortoise shell, more lengthy and important documents were preserved by being inscribed in ritual bronzes. The genuine Shu king chapters and the odes of the Shī as well as the short chapters of the Yi Chou shu may very well have been cast in bronze long before they were transcribed into ordin-

ary wooden manuscripts. That a bronze inscription is similar to and has identical phraseology with Shī odes or Shu chapters is therefore not only not surprising; it is just what would be expected, and Chinese scholars such as Wang Kuo-wei, Kuo Mo-jo, Wu K'i-ch'ang and many others are perfectly justified in following exactly the opposite procedure to that of Maspero: they adduce the parallels of an inscription with certain odes in the Shī, the dates of which are approximately known, in order to date the inscription — the parallels give a hint of the *milieu* in which the master of the bronze has lived.

Finally Maspero has taken umbrage at the fact that the bronze inscriptions describe the ceremonies of investiture so as to show three different modes of procedure. This, he insists, is entirely contradictory to all that we know from the Li ki and the Chou li about these rites: there was one and only one fixed ceremonial for these occasions. We may state in reply that the Li ki and the Chou li are both works of late Chou time (the former having been collected into a whole only in Han time), and that they are not of course authoritative as throwing light on the rites of the Western Chou epoch some 500 or 600 years before their composition. No one seriously believes that the early Chou time institutions and life were exactly as they are described in the rigorous Confucian rituals. The latter are really scholarly speculations as to how things *ought* to be done and, according to their suppositions, probably were done in the golden age of the sages. Real life in the centuries 1122—771 B. C. cannot possibly have followed the narrow and strict rules of Confucian orthodoxy of the centuries 500—250 B. C.; there must have been freedom and variety in the age of the first great bloom of Chou culture. That the bronze inscriptions do not tally with the pedantic rules of Confucianism does not really imply any flaw in their authenticity.

Maspero's criticism has thus failed to convince me. I am in much the same position here as I am in regard to the question of the authenticity of ancient Chinese texts. At first I was greatly impressed by the modern radical critics who wanted to throw practically all the Chou literature on the rubbish heap; when I went into the question thoroughly, I became more and more convinced that the criticism had gone far beyond its premisses. (Cf. BMFEA vols. 1 and 3). From studying the bronze inscriptions I have become more and more convinced that the main bulk of them, such as given in the repertories of the best and most experienced Chinese collectors, is on the whole quite reliable.

There are several facts which speak strongly in their favour.

In the first place, it is remarkable how comparatively seldom persons and events known from early literature occur in the inscriptions. If any considerable number of the bronzes of the standard repertories had been forged in later times, we should have expected to find a great many allusions to famous persons and well-known happenings such as are recorded in Sī-ma Ts'ien and in Ch'un-ts'iu, Tso-chuan, Kuo-yü, Chan kuo ts'ê. There are very few such indeed. When

really spurious allusions of that kind do occur, they are generally so naively worded that the fraud is easily seen and has been detected long ago by the Chinese critics.¹⁾

In the second place, there is an interesting phenomenon in regard to the dating of the vessels. Those of Western Chou have followed a different procedure from those of the feudal period of Eastern Chou. We shall revert to this question on p. 24 below. Here we wish only to point out that recent forgers could not have co-operated so systematically and with such expert knowledge as to have succeeded in maintaining such a difference.

In the third place, we have in our hands a touch-stone infinitely more valuable and effective than any speculations about details such as have been discussed above. It is the style and decoration of the vessels. We shall lay down the following law: if we classify the bronzes into chronological groups exclusively according to their inscriptions and thus obtain a series of distinctive groups; and if then it turns out that clear distinctions in type and decoration correspond to these distinctions, then the inscriptions on the whole (there will always be isolated exceptions) are not forged, they are authentic. For it is inconceivable that a number of recent forgers, working independently and on isolated specimens, could have had the expert knowledge of details of decoration and inscriptions that would have enabled them unfailingly to put the proper inscription on the proper kind of vase. They would necessarily have given themselves away; for this typological analysis has not yet been made in China. It is one of the main objects of the present article to show that this touch-stone decides in favour of the inscriptions. To their different chronological groups there actually correspond, as we shall see, different groups of type and decoration.

Is there then really no risk of our conclusions' proving misleading through our basing them on spurious inscriptions? There certainly is a considerable risk, and that is why we have repeatedly emphasized the importance of working only with materials accepted by the best Chinese experts. We now wish to revert more in detail to this question.

The inscription materials divide themselves into three groups:

1) The Sung time repertoires (*Po ku t'u lu*, *K'ao ku t'u* etc.). These have two disadvantages. On the one hand, the vessels are almost all lost and we have to go after clumsy drawings (of vessels and characters). On the other hand, we have not even the original drawings but only more or less late reproductions of them. Thus we cannot study the hand-writing or the finer details of the decoration.

¹⁾ About the *Shi Tan Ting* Maspero writes (*loc. cit.* p. 134): «Nombre de celles-ci (i. e. the inscriptions) sont tout à fait suspectes, à première vue, par le seul contenu. Les épigraphistes chinois ne s'étonnent pas qu'on ait retrouvé un vase rituel consacré par le duc de Chou à sa mère T'ai-si, femme du roi Wen, pour son temple ancestral; ils en sont très satisfaits...». This is not quite just. It is true that this inscription is still accepted by some Chinese scholars (e. g. Kuo Mo-jo, Ta-hi p. 29), but Wang Kuo-wei has duly recorded it as »suspect».

Yet the Sung works have a very great advantage: they seldom present any forged materials. In them we escape all the Yüan, Ming and Ts'ing copies of archaic bronzes. In Sung time the knowledge of archaic art and epigraphy was still too little developed to allow of forgeries on any considerable scale or of a quality calculated to deceive.

2) The Imperial catalogues of the Ts'ing dynasty (Si ts'ing ku kien, Si ts'ing sü kien [kia pien and yi pien], Ning shou kien ku). They furnish extremely risky materials, all the more risky since both the vessels and the inscriptions are simply drawn, Sung fashion, and no rubbings are given. An analysis of the script type cannot therefore help to decide questions of authenticity. For a time we were tempted to leave out these materials altogether, and to make use only of the selected best pieces from the Imperial collections so excellently published by Jung Keng (Pao yün lou i k'i t'u lu and Wu ying tien i k'i t'u lu). But we have been able to follow a middle path thanks to the same scholar. It cannot be too strongly underlined that we Western students should avail ourselves of the expert knowledge of Chinese collectors. When experts like Wu Ta-ch'eng, Lo Chen-yü, Wang Kuo-wei, Jung Keng, Shang Ch'eng-tso and various others have handled a vessel, examined it thoroughly, studied its inscription and found it authentic, we have already a very fair chance of possessing genuine materials. Now Jung Keng has taken upon himself the heavy task of going through all the Imperial vessels and drawing up a table of the authentic and the spurious ones (Yen king hü pao vol. 5). The author tells us how he was first a member of a committee for the purpose of sorting these bronzes, but was dissatisfied with its hasty method of working; how he went on alone for a long time handling and rehandling the bronzes and finally arrived at the opinion as to their authenticity as recorded in his article. One of the best experts on Chinese bronzes now living and himself possessor of a small but choice collection (see Sung chai ki kin t'u lu), Jung Keng is the best guide to the Imperial catalogues that we could wish for. He has not been lenient, rather, we think, sometimes too severe. But if we follow him and make it a rule never to quote a bronze which he has not sanctioned, we are certainly, on the whole, on the safe side.

3) The long series of catalogues of private collections published during the 19th and 20th centuries. Here the risk of spurious materials is much smaller. In the Imperial collections everything was included, presents, various acquisitions, quite uncritically. The best private collectors have had refined taste and have exhibited great skill in selecting their treasures, and in a work like that of Wu Ta-ch'eng (Heng hien so kien so ts'ang ki kin lu) we need hardly fear a single forged piece. But here again we have a valuable additional safety valve. Wang Kuo-wei, one of the keenest scholars and best experts on Chinese bronzes that China has ever had, has taken infinite trouble in going through all the great repertories of bronze inscriptions and sorting out those which he considered spurious or at least suspect. His lists, extended and revised by Lo Fu-i (San tai

Ts'in Han kin wen chu lu piao) form an indispensable aid to everyone who has to do with Chineses bronzes. Wang has also been quite severe. He does not hesitate to condemn freely even in such famous collections as that of Tuan Fang (T'ao chai) or that of Ts'ao Kuei (Huai mi shan fang). Great and famous repertoires like the Kün ku lu kin wen have sometimes been heavily pared. Thanks to this critical work of Wang Kuo-wei's the Western student can feel comparatively safe as long as he keeps within the bounds of the vessels accepted by Wang in the standard repertoires which he has critically examined. In limiting himself to these materials the student may sometimes miss an inscription which is not in those works or which has been undeservedly condemned by Wang. But it is better to err in the direction of excessive caution. Of course, since this work was published a great many new bronzes have appeared, and it is sometimes difficult to decide which should be accepted and which rejected. A very extensive body of new material has been provided by Lo Chen-yü in his Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku i wen (with Sü and Pu-yi), and since Lo is a first-rate authority and moreover had the assistance of Wang Kuo-wei for many years, this repertory is authoritative. The illustrated catalogue of Liu T'i-chi (Shan chai tsi ku lu) is another important new publication; most of its inscriptions are already embodied in Lo's work¹⁾. So is also the Shī er kia ki kin t'u lu published by Shang ch'eng-tso. A number of important inscribed vessels are to be found in five well-known foreign catalogues: the Sumitomo catalogue (Senoku Seishō), the Eumorfopoulos catalogue, Bronzes antiques de la Chine by Tch'ou tö-yi (C. T. Loo's catalogue), the Yamanaka catalogue (Hakkaku Kikkin shū) and, above all, Umeharas great album of bronzes in European and American collections (Shina kodō seikwa). We shall use the following abbreviations:

1. Po = Suan-ho po ku t'u lu.
2. K'ao = K'ao ku t'u.
3. K'ao sü = Sü K'ao ku t'u.
4. Kukien = Si Ts'ing ku kien.
5. Sükia = Si Ts'ing sü kien kia pien.
6. Süyi = Si Ts'ing sü kien yi pien.
7. Ningshou = Ning shou kien ku.
8. Shiliu = Shi liu ch'ang lo t'ang ku k'i k'uan chi.
9. Huaimi = Huai mi shan fang ki kin t'u.
10. Ch'angan = Ch'ang an huo ku pien.
11. Kün = Kün ku lu kin wen.
12. Lianglei = Liang lei hien i k'i t'u shi.
13. P'anku = P'an ku lou i k'i k'uan chi.
14. Heng = Heng hien so kien so ts'ang ki kin lu.
15. K'i = K'i ku shi ki kin wen shu.
16. T'ao = T'ao chai ki kin lu.
17. K'ia = K'ia chai tsi ku lu.

¹⁾ The Cho i chai i k'i k'ao shi recently published does not give new inscriptions so much as valuable discussions on already known ones.

1 宣和博古圖錄	23 緞道齋彝器考釋
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9 懷米山房吉金圖	31 白鶴吉金別集
10 長安獲古編	32 周漢遺寶
11 擻古錄金文	33 藝術叢編
12 兩畧軒彝器圖釋	34 十二家吉金圖錄
13 攀古樓彝器款識	35 傳古別錄
14 恒軒所見所藏吉金錄	36 周金文存
15 奇觚室吉金文述	37 殷文存
16 陶齋集古錄	38 支那古銅精華
17 窓齋集古錄	39 兩周金文辭大係
18 貞松草堂集古遺文	40 兩周金文辭大係圖錄
19 夢鄆草堂吉金圖	41 古代銘刻彙考
20 寶蘊樓彝器圖錄	42 古代銘刻彙考續編
21 武英殿彝器圖錄	43 金文餘譯之餘
22 濟秋館吉金圖	44 金文餘譯之餘

18. Chengsung = Cheng sung t'ang ts'i ku i wen.
19. Mengwei = Meng wei ts'ao t'ang ki kin t'u.
20. Paoyün = Pao yün lou i k'i t'u lu.
21. Wuying = Wu ying tien i k'i t'u lu.
22. Chengts'iu = Cheng ts'iu kuan ki kin t'u.
23. Choichai = Cho i chai i k'i k'ao shi.
24. Sungchai = Sung chai ki kin t'u lu.
25. Yechung = Ye chung p'ien yü.
26. Shan = Shan chai ki kin lu.
27. Shuangkien = Shuang kien ch'i ki kin t'u lu.
28. Shuangyü = Shuang yü si chai kin shi t'u lu.
29. Haiwai = Hai wai ki kin t'u lu.
30. Senoku = Senoku seishō (Sumitomo catalogue).
31. Senoku Betsu = Senoku seishō Besshū (Sumitomo cat. addit. vol.).
32. Hakkaku = Hakkaku Kikkin shū (Yamanaka catalogue).
33. Shūkan = Shū Kan i hō.
34. Ishu = I shu ts'ung pien.
35. Shērkia = Shī er kia ki kin t'u lu.

36. Ch'uanku = Ch'uan ku pie lu.
37. Choukin = Chou kin wen ts'un.
38. Yinwen = Yin wen ts'un.
39. Umehara = Shina Kodō seikwa or Selected relics of ancient Chinese bronzes from collections in Europe and America, 1933.
40. Tahi = Liang Chou kin wen ts'i ta hi (Kuo Mo-jo).
41. Tahi t'ulu = Liang Chou kin wen ts'i ta hi t'u lu (Kuo Mo-jo).
42. Hueik'ao = Ku tai ming k'o huei k'ao (Kuo Mo-jo).
43. Hueik'ao sü = Ku tai ming k'o huei k'ao sü pien (Kuo Mo-jo).
44. Yüshī = Ming wen yü shī chi yü (Kuo Mo-jo).
45. Tch'ou = Bronzes antiques de la Chine appartenant à C. T. Loo et Cie, 1924, par Tch'ou Tö-yi.
46. Eumorfopoulos = The George Eumorfopoulos Collection of Chinese and Corean Bronzes by W. Perceval Yetts, 1929, 1930.

* * *

Our first and fundamental task is to try and find a reliable distinction between Yin and Chou inscriptions. Chinese philologists have for many centuries followed the principle of regarding very short and clumsy inscriptions, especially when they contain some strongly pictorial elements, as pre-Chou; in the earlier stages (Sung catalogues) they placed some even in the Hia dynasty, in more recent times they have contented themselves with speaking of 商 Shang = 般 Yin (we shall always use the term Yin in the present article for simplicity's sake). And to Yin they always attribute the very large number of bronzes which have a short line containing the words: 父 甲 »to father Kia» (Yi, Ping, Ting etc., cyclical characters) or: 且 甲 »To grandfather Kia», since we know that the Yin people used the »ten stem» characters as personal names. A typical publication along these lines is the Yin wen ts'un by Lo Chen-yü, and many recent catalogues still follow these principles. The results to be published in the present paper will indeed confirm to a large extent these attributions to Yin time of the said types of inscriptions and thus show that the Chinese experts, here as in so many other cases, have had a sure and reliable instinct which has put them on the right lines. But we cannot accept this rather hazy and indefinite norm — that inscriptions of a more or less »primitive», short, clumsy, pictorial type are Yin inscriptions — as a point of departure in our study. It gives us no solid and definite basis to work on. Indeed, we can show, on the contrary, that the same »primitive» elements incontestably existed also in Chou time. That the custom of using the »ten stem» characters as personal names lived on far into the Chou epoch is shown by a great number of inscriptions (see e. g. Tahi pp. 8, 11, 16, 21, 25, 28, 30 etc.). And primitive, pictorial elements are often added at the end of indubitable Chou inscriptions. Thus, the famous Nie Ling vessels of Chao wang's time (B 22—25 below) have at the ^{end} of the inscription a crude picture of a bird. And the much discussed symbol: 夂 父, earlier inter-

preted as *tsī sun* »sons and grandsons» but left unexplained by modern scholars, and which is one of those that Lo Chen-yü in the Yin wen ts'un takes as a criterion of Yin time, appears e. g. at the end of the famous Hien hou Ting of Ch'eng wang's time (B 12 below). Two 冂 and the figure of a posturing man with some sort of head ornament — a very »Yin-like» element — is to be found at the end of the equally famous Ch'en-ch'en Yu inscription (B 30—32), without any logical connection with the rest of the inscription. We see, then, that the hitherto current criteria of Yin inscriptions are untenable; in the great majority of cases they are true, but there are so many exceptions that we cannot build on them as a safe basis.¹⁾

Thus we have to resign ourselves to the fact that a large number of inscriptions which the Chinese scholars have recorded without hesitation as Yin (»To father Sin», »To grandfather Yi»; sacrificial scenes; victims; animals; weapons etc.) are useless for our purpose here, since they might equally well be of Chou as of Yin time. They come to swell the very large category of inscriptions that are of too indifferent a content to be of any use, e. g. the many vessels with: *tso pao tsun i* »[I] have made a precious vessel»; »*X tso pao tsun i, tsī sun yung pao yung* »*X* (a name of one or two characters which tells us nothing whatever) has made the precious vessel, may sons and grandsons for ever treasure and use it». It is unfortunately no exaggeration to say that the majority of Chinese bronze inscriptions are quite undatable; not only undatable in the narrow sense of the word but undatable in its widest sense: we cannot tell even whether they are from Yin or Chou time.

If, therefore, we cannot base our analysis of Yin style on all the vessels the inscriptions of which the Chinese scholars have labelled as Yin (Shang), we must try to find a more definite group, the inscriptions of which we can really prove to be pre-Chou. Fortunately this is by no means impossible.

We have registered below (categories B, C and D) a considerable number of inscriptions, 649 in all, which we can with certainty attribute to the Chou epoch; the reasons for this attribution are given in detail below. Now there are quite a number of simple pictorial characters: sacrificial scenes, men carrying standards, two big eyes, a stand with arrows, a man carrying strings of cowries, and such-like, which never occur together with any of these 649 proved Chou inscriptions. Is it not certain, then, that they are anterior to the Chou era, i. e. of Yin date, as the Chinese scholars have supposed? No, it is highly probable, but not certain. For they may be idiographs which were not used simultaneously with real inscriptions; if so, they may be of Chou date just as well as of Yin date. Some of them, indeed, do occur once or twice together with other

¹⁾ It will not do at all to try and use the characters of the oracle bones as a kind of touchstone for Yin inscriptions on bronzes. The different materials have resulted in very differently executed characters, and a great many undeniably Yin bronzes have characters differing very widely from those of the oracle inscriptions on bone or tortoise shell.

characters having a real inscriptional sense; but the examples are too few to allow of safe conclusions' being drawn from them.

Quite different is the case of three other elements of very frequent occurrence: 亞 the so-called *ya-hing* 亞-shaped cartouche; 子 孫 *si tsü sun*; and 爨 or 奴 read *kü* in the repertories. The meaning of these symbols has been much discussed but is still very obscure. This is not essential to us here. The facts of primary importance are the following:

1) These three symbols frequently occur together with real texts of sometimes considerable length. Thus, if they were current in Chou time at all, we should expect them to crop up sometimes in the beginning or at the end of the 649 inscriptions which we can prove to be of the Chou era.

2) When these three symbols stand together with real texts, the latter never contain anything which points with any certainty to the Chou period, i. e. these texts are never of the kinds which we have registered in categories B, C and D below; in other words: the inscriptions which we have registered in categories B, C and D, and which have this in common that they all contain something which reveals them to be of the Chou epoch, never have (in the same way as they sometimes have other extra symbols, e. g. the 册 and a bird, or the symbol mentioned p. 19, last line) an additional 亞 *ya* or 子 孫 *si tsü sun* or 爨 *kü*.

There can only be one conclusion: these three symbols, the *ya-hing*, the *si tsü sun* and the *kü*, were obsolete at the time when the Chou dynasty started. If they are never combined with provable Chou inscriptions, in spite of the fact that they do occur together with real texts, it is because they are of another age than the Chou inscriptions: and since they are not from Han time (this being excluded by the script type of their texts) they date from pre-Chou time, i. e. from the Yin dynasty.

These statements are of such primary importance that they require an extensive exemplification.

The 亞 *ya-hing* occurs together with real texts e. g. in the following inscriptions:

Yin wen ts'un, shang 5;	Chengsung, Sü shang 26;
Chengsung, Pu shang 8;	Kün 2/2: 32;
Chengsung, Sü shang 19;	Chengsung 4: 12;
Chengsung 2: 36;	Chengsung 4: 38;
K'ia 3: 3;	Kün 2/1: 24;
Küun 2/1: 20;	Kün 2/1: 5;
K'i 16: 3;	K'ia 12: 3;
K'ia 3: 3 a;	K'i 1: 11;
T'ao 1: 26;	K'i 3: 20;
K'i 16: 6;	Chengsung 4: 47;
T'ao 1: 25;	Chengsung 5: 7;
K'ia 6: 5;	K'i 3: 15;
Chengsung, Pu shang 13;	Chengsung, Sü shang 44;
Kün 1/3: 32;	K'ia 13: 3;

- K'ia 13: 16;
 Chengsung 7: 13;
 K'i 17: 4;
 K'ia 13: 3;
 Chengsung, Sü chung 8;
 K'i 5: 9;
 Yin wen ts'un, Shang 24;
 Kün 1/3: 52;
 T'ao 2: 34;
 Chengsung 8: 23;
 Ibid.;
 Chengsung 8: 24;
 Chengsung 8: 25;
 Chengsung, Sü chung 19;
 Kün 2/1: 80;
- Chengsung 8: 28;
 K'ia 16: 19;
 Chengsung 9: 9;
 Chengsung, Pu chung 19;
 Ibid.;
 Chengsung, Pu chung 18;
 Kün 1/3: 65;
 K'i 5: 5;
 T'ao 3: 26;
 Chengsung 9: 27;
 Chengsung, Sü chung 37;
 T'ao 3: 29;
 K'i 18: 7;
 K'ia 22: 22;
 K'ia 21: 18.

The 析 孫 *si tsii sun* occurs together with real texts e. g. in:

- K'ia 3: 5;
 Chengsung 2: 41;
 Chengsung 2: 44;
 K'i 2: 1;
 K'ia 6: 8;
 K'i 16: 4;
 Kün 2/1: 14;
 Chengsung, Pu shang 18;
 Ibid.;
 Chengsung 4: 43;
 K'i 3: 20;
 Chengsung, Sü chung 8;
 Kün 2/1: 36;
 T'ao 1: 45;
 Chengsung 7: 18;
 K'i 5: 9;
- Yin wen ts'un, Shang 39;
 Kün 2/1: 8;
 Chengsung, Pu chung 6;
 K'i 6: 10;
 T'ao, Sü shang 40;
 Kün 2/1: 80;
 T'ao 2: 36;
 K'i 6: 13;
 Chengsung 8: 29;
 Chengsung, Sü chung 24;
 Chengsung 8: 42;
 Chengsung, Sü chung 29;
 K'ia 20: 13;
 K'i 7: 29;
 Kün 2/1: 70.

The 署 *kü* (in one or other of its two variants) occurs together with real texts e. g. in:

- Shan 2: 35;
 K'ia 6: 17;
 K'ia 17: 6;
 Chengsung, Pu shang 15;
 Kün 1/2: 78;
 Kün 1/3: 30;
 Chengsung, Sü shang 36;
 Kün 2/1: 41;
 Chengsung 7/12;
 Chengsung Sü chung 9;
- Kün 1/3: 27;
 Chengsung 8: 18;
 K'i 18: 6;
 Chengsung 9: 26;
 Kün 1/2: 58;
 Heng 70;
 Yin wen ts'un, Hia 19;
 Chengsung, Puchung 9;
 K'ia 18: 20.

None of these texts contain anything that points to Chou.¹⁾

In category A below we have brought together 337 cases of the three inscription symbols; they are all cases in which we have pictures of the vessels. If we were to add the *ya-hing*, *si tsī sun* and *kū* inscriptions occurring in non-illustrated publications, the number would rise to something between 450 and 500. These 450—500 bronze inscriptions never contain Chou-time criteria; the 649 inscriptions of categories B, C and D, which contain Chou-time criteria, never have the *ya-hing*, the *si tsī sun*, the *kū*. Our conclusion that these three symbols existed only in Yin time and were obsolete in Chou time is fully corroborated.

A. YIN BRONZES.

For the reasons given above we have strictly limited our materials to such bronzes as have *ya-hing*, *si tsī sun* or *kū*. They furnish us with material which, while perfectly safe, is yet quite comprehensive and sufficient for determining the style of the Yin bronzes. We can therefore afford to leave out entirely all the vessels with short, »primitive» inscriptions, the Yin date of which is only probable but not provable.

Vessels 1—189 and 324—333 have the *ya hing*, 190—244 and 334, 335 have *si tsī sun*, 245—323 and 336, 337 have *kū* — all with or without additional characters. Since the inscriptions call for no further comment, we give no list of the vessels here; all the references will be given in the chapter in which their stylistic features are discussed.

* * *

B, C, D, E. Chou bronzes.

The inscriptions from Chou time fall into four groups.

In category B we place vessels from Royal Chou. Nearly all of these can be proved to belong to the period of Western Chou (1122—771), anterior to the removal of the capital from Shensi to Honan (by P'ing wang, in 770 B. C.). For the details see the commentaries on the various vessels below. After the removal to Lo-yi the Royal House of Chou very rapidly lost its power and riches and lived a modest and pauper life (the poverty and helplessness of the Royal Chou is revealed already by the early years of the Ch'un ts'iu and the

¹⁾ There are actually two exceptions to the general rule. One is K'ia 16: 19, which has the *ya-hing* and yet says: 齊侯錫 »The prince of Yen gave...«. One is K'i 17: 12, which has the *si tsī sun* and yet says: 庚姬 »The lady Keng Ki has made...« (Ki being a common clan name of Chou time). Is it too bold to venture the conclusion that these absolutely isolated cases against such a formidably well-documented general rule are due to forgeries? Or are they stray examples of archaized inscriptions made in Chou time?

Tso chuan, cf. Yin kung, 3rd year); there was no longer any scope at its Court for a high standard of bronze art. The leading part was from now on played by the various feudal courts.

In category C we place all vessels which can be attached to a certain feudal state, it having been made either by (or for) a prince or a princess of that state, or at least by (or for) a person originating from that state. In the latter case it is not always certain that the vessel was really made in the said state, for Mr. X of Lu might very well have removed to Cheng and practised his art there. But in the great majority of cases the vessels may be expected to derive from the state whose name they bear.

In category D we place certain vessels which cannot be defined so closely: they cannot be attached to a certain state but are none the less clearly of the Chou period and connected with one or other of the feudal states, since their inscriptions contain the clan names (*sing*) of the feudal families (Ki, Kiang, Jen etc.) of the Chou epoch.

As to the relative age of categories B, C and D, a few words should be added.

Category B is entirely from the period of Western Chou, 1122—771 B. C. In categories C and D there are certainly a few vessels which have to be placed as far back as that period; but the great majority are of a later date, from Eastern Chou time (770—256). There is a highly interesting phenomenon which proves this. If we examine the dating system of dated vessels of cat. B in regard to the four quarters of the month (初吉 *ch'u ki* the 1st quarter, 既生霸 *ki sheng pa* the 2nd quarter, 既望 *ki wang* the 3rd quarter, 既死霸 *ki si pa* the 4th quarter, cf. Wang Kuo-wei Kuan t'ang tsi lin 1: 1), we find a perfectly free system:

1st quarter (*ch'u ki*): B 3, 23, 34, 35, 55, 66, 89, 90, 93, 96, 97, 99, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 112, 122, 125, 129, 133, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160, 161, 167, 172, 179, 190, 194, 198, 200, 203, 208;

2nd quarter (*ki sheng pa*): B 33, 43, 47, 78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 113, 130, 137, 150, 151, 159, 171, 173, 174, 175, 178, 191;

3rd quarter (*ki wang*): B 19, 30, 40, 42, 44, 60, 61, 79, 82, 92, 142, 144, 180, 199, 201, 207;

4th quarter (*ki si pa*): B 22, 45, 48, 116, 117, 118, 158, 181, 195, 202, 206.

In categories C and D, on the contrary, the quarter is always the 1st (*ch'u ki*), and the day is preferably *ting-hai*. We shall place here an asterisk after the *ting-hai* cases:

1st quarter (*ch'u ki*): C 1*, 2*, 7, 15, 25, 29, 30*, 31*, 39, 40, 45*, 46*, 48, 82, 83, 98*, 104, 120, 130*, 135, 136, 141, 142*, 158*, 159*, 171*, 174, 178, 182*, 198*, 199*, 200*, 204, 215, 219, 226*, 230, 232*, 233, 234, 266, 274*, 277*, 284*, 289*; D 14, 22, 30, 41*, 50*, 76*, 102, 118*, 120, 133.

2nd quarter (*ki sheng pa*): C 20 (a vessel from Chou!).

There are 60 different cyclical day-naming combinations, *kia-tsi*, *yi-ch'ou* etc.

The fact that one of the 60, the combination *ting-hai*, occurs in 26 out of 55 inscriptions cannot be by mere chance but must have its special reason, just as well as the striking fact that 55 out of 56 inscriptions refer to the 1st quarter.

Now it is obvious that the bronzes were not always cast in the first quarter of the month, nor regularly on the rare days *ting-hai*: we have here a conventionalized phrase without any real connection with the actual date of the casting. This is no unknown phenomenon in China. On Han-time mirrors the day is preferably given as *ping-wu* even in months which we know for certain contained no *ping-wu* day (see Karlgren, Early Chinese mirror inscriptions, BMFEA 6, p. 48). There was a special symbolic reason for this (*loc. cit.*) and something similar must have been the case with the phrase *ch'u ki ting-hai* on the feudal bronzes¹⁾. Since it is inconceivable that the feudal kingdoms could have such an advanced custom of conventionalized dating at the same time as the Royal Chou had an original free dating system, we must conclude that we are here confronted with a difference in period. Indeed, the *ch'u ki ting-hai* formula becomes common in the last reigns of Western Chou (B 99, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107), and the feudal states seem to have followed the lead. The feudal vessels with the *ch'u ki ting-hai* formula are therefore to be placed in the period from about 800 B. C. to 256 B. C. (end of the Chou dynasty), and the majority must be from Eastern Chou time (770—256). Moreover, since there is no reason to believe that just those feudal vessels which happen to have the month quarter indicated should be later than their undated sister vessels, we can assume it to be fairly likely that the great majority of the feudal vessels belong to this period.

Finally, in category E we place a number of vessels which have names of the type X-fu, e. g. 事父 Shi-fu, 孟義父 Meng I-fu. This onomastic type is indeed highly interesting. In our list (p. 21 above) of proved Yin inscriptions, practically all of which contain names of persons, there is not a single example of this name type. In the inscriptions of categories B, C and D, which contain criteria showing that they belong to the Chou era, they are, on the contrary, very common: there are 117 inscriptions containing X-fu names in those categories. These inscriptions added to the 147 inscriptions of cat. E give us a list of 264 inscriptions containing X-fu names, and not a single one of them has a *ya-hing*, a *si tsii sun* or a *kü*, the above-mentioned Yin criteria. We are therefore fully authorized to conclude that the name type X-fu is a sure indication of Chou time, as against Yin time.

On the other hand, by the aid of texts we can draw a lower limit for their occurrence. In the Ch'un ts'iu and Tso-chuan (722—469 B. C.) there are several hundred X-fu names. But it is interesting to observe that they are

¹⁾ The ritual I-li, Shao lao kuei shi li (Couvreur p. 582), says that at the *shao lao* sacrifice, which is there described, the formula used by the performer of the ceremony was this: »Your respectful grandson So-and-so will on the next day *ting-hai* offer up the gifts of the year to his august grandfather So-and-so.« This shows that the day *ting-hai* had a special ritual significance.

more frequent in the beginning of those chronicles than in their later parts. And this is important. It must be remembered that in regard to the earlier parts of the Ch'un ts'iu period the Tso chuan is very brief, but it is a broad and extensive narrative as far as concerns the later parts. Hence, if the onomastic type X-fu had been equally common in the 6th and 5th centuries as it was earlier, we should have had an increasing, not a decreasing number of examples. If we then go to the historical texts of the Warring States' period (roughly 400—250 B. C.), Chan kuo ts'ê and Lü shî ch'un ts'iu, there are no examples at all of this name type. Evidently the X-fu names were obsolete about 400 B. C., and all bronzes bearing such names have to be placed between 1122 and 400 (roughly) as extreme limits.

In categories B, C, D and E we record not only the inscriptions on vessels of which we have illustrations, but also those quoted in unillustrated repertories. This is useful for two reasons. On the one hand, it gives us an approximate idea of the number of inscriptions¹⁾ which we can prove to be of Chou date, and serves to corroborate our above conclusion as to the Yin nature of the symbols (*ya hing*, *si tsî sun*, *kü*) which do not occur in any of these Chou inscriptions. On the other hand, many of the vessels here recorded as unillustrated undoubtedly exist in private collections in China or abroad, and it would be very useful if their owners, should they happen to read this article, in which their inscriptions are inserted in their proper place according to the chronological system, were to come forward and give us photographs of their treasures, thus filling out important gaps in our knowledge of the archaic bronzes.

The arrangement here will be as follows. In each group we place first all the inscriptions belonging to vessels of which we have illustrations. Along with them are placed only such unillustrated inscriptions as are connected by their contents with the former and therefore help us in dating them, or else give us a more complete idea of them. These unillustrated vessels we shall mark, for the sake of clearness, with an asterisk. Finally, at the end of each section we register those unillustrated vessels which have no connection with the illustrated ones.

Considerations of space forbid any attempt to give the inscriptions in translation *in extenso*; moreover this would force us to take up a position in regard to a great number of interpretative riddles, which we are not at all inclined to do at present. From each inscription therefore we shall quote only some lines or stray words which contain the criteria evidencing a Chou date.

A great many of the more important inscriptions occur in several of the well-known repertories; we have not deemed it necessary or useful to give all the

1) Of course the figures will always be much too low. We have already indicated above how, when selecting our materials, we have kept strictly within the bounds of the vessels approved of by prominent scholars. Many more could certainly have been added. On the other hand, every day sees new vessels brought out of the Chinese soil. There cannot be the slightest pretension to completeness.

cross-references, since they are already to be found in the index of Wang Kuo-wei and Lo Fu-i quoted above (p. 16), and also, to a large extent, in Kuo Mo-jo's Liang Chou kin wen ts'i ta hi. We have as a rule quoted an inscription in the latest of the standard works, so as to facilitate the reader's finding the most recent and advanced version of its deciphered text. Thus, if an inscription occurs in Lo Chen-yü's Cheng-sung t'ang tsi ku i wen (Chengsung), we cite it there. If it is not there, we refer to Liu Sin-yüan's K'i ku shi ki kin wen shu (K'i); if it is not there, we refer to Wu Ta-ch'eng's K'ia chai tsi ku lu (K'ia); if it is not there, we refer to Wu Shih-fen's Kün ku lu kin wen (Kün); and so on. For the bronzes treated by Kuo Mo-jo we generally give references to his works as well, since they are clever and suggestive, though often very uncritical.

B. ROYAL CHOU BRONZES.

In discussing the dating of the vessels of this group let us first remark that for simplicity's sake we use the standard chronology of the Ts'i chi t'ung kien, based on the chapter Lü li chi of the Ts'ien Han shu, the same chapter as that in which the San t'ung li of Liu Hin's is incorporated. This might be termed the »orthodox» chronology, as opposed to the chronology of the Chu shu ki nien. The former dates the beginning of the Chou dynasty in 1122 B. C., the latter in 1050 B. C.; they do not coincide until the year 841 B. C.¹⁾

Since it is impossible to tell which of the two comes nearest to the truth (Chavannes is certainly right in leaving that question entirely open), and since most works of reference keep to the orthodox chronology; since, moreover, it is of no capital importance from an archæological point of view whether we place Wu wang's accession to the throne in 1122 or in 1050, we might just as well avoid the confusion that would arise from introducing the dates of the kings of the Chu shu ki nien (even though that work is the oldest source available). There is all the more reason to accept — *faute de mieux* and only as a makeshift — the conventional reign list, since it is quite probable that both lists are unreliable. There is, for instance, the reign of Kung wang, which the orthodox chronology gives as having lasted 12 years (946—935); the Ti wang shi ki, as quoted by T'ai p'ing yü lan k. 84, says that it lasted 20 years, and Huang-fu Mi (as quoted by T'ung kien wai ki) gives it as 25 years. The Chou reigns anterior to 841 are therefore mere approximations. The names and sequence of the kings, on the contrary, seem to be quite certain; hence any possible errors in the orthodox list cannot concern more than a few decades of years at the utmost.

The list of the kings of Western Chou and their reigns according to the standard chronology is as follows:

¹⁾ For full details see Chavannes, Mém. Hist. I, p. CLXXXVI ff.

Wu wang 1122—1116	Kung wang 946—935
Ch'eng wang 1115—1079	Yi wang ¹⁾ 934—910
K'ang wang 1078—1053	Hiao wang 909—895
Chao wang 1052—1002	Ih wang 894—879
Mu wang 1001—947	Li wang 878—842
	Interregnum (Kung ho) 841—828
	Suan wang 827—782
	Yu wang 781—771

As already stated above, there are two recent authors who have tried to determine the exact dates, or at least the definite reigns, in which a great many bronze inscriptions of this period have been cast: Wu K'i-ch'ang and Kuo Mo-jo. Wu takes the astronomical data as his fundamental point of departure and fills them out with supplementary evidence of other kinds. Kuo goes the opposite way; he bases himself on various small criteria in regard to names and places, and only occasionally does he adduce the datings as a support for his views; his arguments are sometimes quite ingenious, but generally he advances the most flimsy evidence. How great is the risk involved in trying to fix the exact date of an inscription *à tout prix* is shown by a comparison of the results of these two scholars. They diverge in the most astonishing fashion. Whereas Wu has a long series of vessels from Chao wang's reign, Kuo has hardly any. Kuo has quite a number from Mu wang's, Wu practically none. Many of the vessels which Wu places at the very beginning of the Western Chou period Kuo places at the end and *vice versa*. We can take neither the list of Wu nor that of Kuo as our point of departure.

We shall proceed here along somewhat different lines. We shall not insist upon exactly dating or definitely attributing every vessel to a certain reign. We shall be quite satisfied if we can attribute it, with a fair degree of probability, to the first half or to the second half of the Western Chou period. From an archæological point of view, a great deal is already gained by such an approximate method of dating. To the first half, then, we refer the reigns of the first five kings: Wu wang, Ch'eng wang, K'ang wang, Chao wang, Mu wang, i. e. the period 1122—947 according to the orthodox chronology. This was the first great period of bloom of the Chou culture. After the Chou régime had been founded and firmly consolidated during the reigns of Wu, Ch'eng and K'ang, an era of expansion and conquest set in with Chao and Mu and brought the Chou house to the zenith of its power and glory. With Kung wang begins its period of waning power and gradual decline. The second half is thus the period 946—771 B. C. From an historical point of view, then, 947 is a convenient date at which to divide the Western Chou into two sections of

¹⁾ We distinguish between the two «I wang» by an arbitrarily chosen difference of spelling: Yi and Ih.

176 years each. It should not be forgotten, however, as was pointed out just now, that the dates of the reigns anterior to 841 are mere approximations.

If, now, from the various *points d'appui* for dating the Western Chou vessels afforded by the Chinese philologists, old and new (Wu and Kuo of course have largely drawn upon earlier writers), we select a few which seem comparatively safe and reliable, we obtain a list of 33 illustrated vessels which can be attributed to the first half (1122—947) of Western Chou, and 22 illustrated vessels attributable to the second half (946—771) of that period. Thus we already have a considerable body of material for stylistic studies. But we need not stop there. We have still another means of enlarging these groups considerably: the study of the script. To the casual reader the script may seem to be fairly uniform during the whole of the Western Chou epoch; but in reality it is not so. It allows of age distinctions which are sometimes just as decisive and categorical as those based on the contents of the inscriptions.¹⁾

There are indeed quite noticeable differences. On the one hand certain variants in the execution of some characters are suggestive. There are, for instance, the characters 子 命 (命) 公 父. If the following forms occur: 𠩺 𠩠 𠩢 𠩣 (*yü* with an additional stroke at the right; *ling* (*ming*) with the figure of a kneeling man still quite discernible; *kung* with the two strokes connected with the mouth; *fu* with the hand and the vertical stroke kept distinguished, such as it is always written in Yin inscriptions), they generally indicate an early date. The forms of the later period are²⁾: 𠩠 𠩢 𠩣 𠩣.

Again, the characters 文 and 武 have an additional radical 玉 to the left in the earliest inscriptions.

But this variant criterion is of comparatively minor importance; a much better guide is the general character of the script, the *ductus* that is typical of the early and of the late period. It is practically impossible to express in words wherein the difference lies, and yet to the eye of the student who has long and carefully handled these inscriptions — always supposing they are long enough to give a definite impression — the difference is just as obvious as that between a T'ang and a Sung manuscript. Or, rather, there are certain inscriptions which the student with an experienced eye at once recognizes as being of the early type; there are others which he just as easily attributes to the later type; but there are also some which are so indifferent, so vague in the handwriting criterion that he cannot make a definite decision. In the latter cases he must not, of course, try to force the materials but he should leave the question open.

In this way, thanks to the script, we can add to the group of 33 illustrated early

¹⁾ In this respect, unfortunately, we cannot make use of the inscriptions in the Sung catalogues nor in the Imperial catalogues, these being drawn by hand, not rubbed.

²⁾ This is no strict rule; there are exceptions in both directions. The later forms crop up in sporadic cases quite early, and now and then an early form survives on fairly late bronzes. Yet the general tendency is unmistakable.

vessels, mentioned above, some 31 more, which belong to the first period; and to the group of 22 late ones, mentioned above, we can add 34 more, which belong to the second period. The remainder of our illustrated Western Chou vessels, which for lack of criteria either in contents or in script form we cannot attribute to either the first or the second period, is thus no more than 26.

I. *Inscriptions from the first half (1122—947) of Western Chou.*

B 1—8 form a group:

- B 1.** Ting. »In the 13th month, on the day keng-yin, the King was in the Han camp; the King said: 中 Chung . . . to be a servant to king Wu (武 with an additional rad. 玉). . . ». Tahi 20, drawing Po 2: 17.
- B 2.** Kuei. »The Eastern 夷 I Barbarians made a great insurrection; 伯懋父 Po Mou-fu with the eighth army of Yin attacked the Eastern I. . . ». Chengsung 6: 6, Tahi 13, photo Bull. Nat. Research Inst. 3: 2, and Tahi t'ulu 77, drawing Shan 8: 91.
- B 3.** Kuei. »In the 5th month, 1st quarter, on the day kia-shen, Mou-fu. . . ». Chengsung 4: 47, Tahi 16, photo Wuying 57.
- B 4.** Hu. »In the 4th month, Po Mou-fu made an expedition to the North. . . ». Tahi 16, drawing Kukien 19: 8.
- B 5.** Ting. »In the 3rd month, on the day ting-mao, 師旅 Shī Lü . . . followed the King on an expedition in Fang-lei; he sent his friend Hung to report this to Po Mou-fu; Hung reported it to Chung. . . ». Kuo, Huei k'ao, drawing Shan 2: 81.
- B 6.** Ting. »In the year when the King ordered 南宮 Nan-kung to attack the rebellious 虎方 Hu-fang, the King ordered Chung. . . ». K'i 16: 9, Tahi 21 (note), drawing Po 2: 18.
- B 7.** Kuei lid. »它 T'o said. . . 沈子 Shen-tsi has made . . . with 周公 Chou kung (the duke of Chou). . . ; . . . 同公 T'ung-kung. . . ». Chengsung, Pu shang 29, drawing Shan 8: 98, our Pl. XXX.
- B 8.*** Yi. »In the 5th month, on the day jen-ch'en, T'ung-kung was in 壽 Feng; he ordered Tsê to serve Po Mou-fu. . . ». Chengsung 4: 48, Tahi 17.

Of Chung in B 1 it is expressly stated that he was a servant under Wu wang (the graph for Wu is such as could hardly have been invented by a forger in Sung time). The same Chung (full name Nan-kung Chung) recurs in B 6 and also in B 5. In the latter he is combined with Po Mou-fu, who recurs in B 2, B 3, B 4, B 8. In B 8 Po Mou-fu is combined with T'ung-kung, and Feng, a city of Western Chou in Shensi is mentioned. The same T'ung-kung recurs in B 7, and when thus B 7 is incorporated in a group from the very beginning of the dynasty, it is but natural to take the Chou-kung there to mean the Chou-kung Tan, brother of Wu wang.

For the connection of some of these vessels the occurrence of the simple name Chung is certainly not conclusive; but since the script type in them all is decidedly very early, and the vessels of the group thus have to be placed in the beginning of the dynasty, it is but natural to take their Chung to be one and the same person; Wu and Kuo both have done so. There are two more inscriptions

about Chung. One (Po 6: 32) is on a Chi, which is certainly spurious, one (Sie 16: 172) is made up in imitation of B 6; we leave both out of consideration.

B 9—11 form a group:

- B 9.** Kuei. »The King attacked the prince of 楚 Ch'u; 周公 Chou kung instructed 爰 K'in to act as prayer master. . . ». Kün 2/3: 22, Tahi 10, drawing Shiliu 2: 3, our Pl. XXXI.
B 10. Ting. »Ting of the great prayer-master K'in». Kün 1/2: 47, drawing Shiliu 1: 15.
B 11.* Ting. Same inscriptions as B 9. Chengsung 3: 18.

Since Chou-kung occurs together with K'in, the Chinese scholars seem justified in thinking of 伯禽 Po K'in, the son of the famous Chou-kung Tan, and to date these bronzes to the time of Ch'eng wang. Here again the script type is very early.

- B 12.** Ting. »Ch'eng wang made a great in 宗周 Tsung Chou, and gave to 獻侯 Hien hou (the prince of Hien) . . . ». Chengsung 3: 15, Tahi 27, photo Paoyün 8, also drawing Süyi 1: 6.

Tsung Chou always means a Western city in the Shensi plain, in contradistinction to 成周 Ch'eng Chou in Honan. That this is so has been recognized by all Chinese scholars and it follows from various inscriptions in which the two stand antithetically.

That Ch'eng wang was so named already in his life-time, and that this honorific name is thus no posthumous title, may seem astonishing. Wang Kuo-wei, however, has proved (Kuan t'ang tsi lin k. 18) that the early Chou kings had their honorific names even in their life time. This inscription therefore in all probability dates from Ch'eng wang's reign. The script type is very early.

B 13—16 form a group:

- B 13.** Kuei. »In the 3rd month, the King solemnly ordered 築 Jung and the *nei-shi* and said. . . . 井 (=邢) 侯 Hing hou (the prince of Hing) has submitted. . . ; . . 天子 the Son of Heaven . . . ; . . . have investiture in 有周 the house of Chou . . . ; . . . has made the vessel of 周公 Chou-kung. ». Chengsung 4: 48, Tahi 121, photo Eumorfopoulos 1: 26.
B 14. Tsun. »The King ordered the chief, 井侯 Hing hou . . . ; . . . the prince had audience in Tsung Chou . . . ; . . . the King sojourned in 莽京 P'ang king . . . ; . . . the grace of the Son of Heaven . . . ; . . . the prince gave a brevet to 麥 Mai. . . ». Tahi 39, drawing Kukien 8: 33.
B 15. Ho. 井侯 Hing hou glorified his actions; 麥 Mai. . . ». Chengsung 8: 43, photo Senoku II: 101, also drawing Kukien 31: 31.
B 16. Yi. »In the 8th month, on the day yi-hai, a solemn order was given to Hing hou to glorify his ruling actions. . . ». Kukien 13: 10, drawing *ibid.*

B 13 is the famous Kuei of the Eumorfopoulos collection. Kuo Mo-jo (Tahi 121) has placed it quite erroneously, in the reign of Li wang, but in his Ta hi t'u lu he has corrected this and moved it up to the early part of the dynasty, in connection with B 12. Indeed, the script in our group B 13—16 is of a very early type and must be attributed to the very beginning of the Chou era. The

井 in the 井 侯 of the present inscriptions is in all probability a quite different thing from the 井 Tsing of 井 伯 Tsing po, 井 叔 Tsing shu etc. in other inscriptions to follow below (this Tsing being a place in the original Cheng of the Shensi plain). Since 井 侯 here is combined with 周 公 Chou kung, Sü Chung-shu (Ac. Sin. Bull. III: 2) and Kuo (Tahi 41) are quite justified in reading it 邢 Hing and quoting Tso chuan, Hi 24: »Fan, Tsiang, 邢 Hing, Mao, Tsu and Ts'i are the [states of] the descendants of Chou kung»; the combination of Hing hou with Chou kung and the early type of the script make it very probable that it is here a question of the Chou kung (Tan, brother of Wu wang), and that the Hing hou here mentioned is his grandson; the vessels therefore may date from K'ang wang's reign.

In B 14 we have, together with Tsung Chou, one of the Shensi residences of the Western Chou, another residence P'ang king, which, whenever it occurs in inscriptions, unfailingly indicates Western Chou (1122—771). Its position has been much discussed; Wang Kuo-wei places it in Shansi, others identify it with 豊 Feng. T'ang Lan (in a long article in the Shī hüe lun ts'ung of the Pei king Ta hüe) places it to the North of Tsung Chou. That it was situated in Shensi is practically certain.

That B 15 belongs together with B 14 follows from the fact that both have Mai as well as Hing hou. B 16 has almost the same terminology as B 15 and must be connected with it.

A word should be added about the term *t'ien-tsi* 'Son of Heaven'. The *wang* 'king' was never styled *t'ien-tsi* in Yin time. In the thousands of oracle bone inscriptions which speak of the King, he is always plainly called *wang*. In the authentic Shu king chapters of Yin time, the term *t'ien-tsi* never occurs. Hence, when we find it in bronze inscriptions, it is a sure indication that we have a reference to the King of Chou. It is very common in the inscriptions of Western Chou time.

B 17—20 form a group:

- B 17.** Ting. »In the 9th month, the King was in Tsung Chou; he gave a solemn order (investiture) to 孟 Yü; . . . the illustrious Wen wang; . . . Wu wang . . . ; the King's 23rd year.» K'i 2: 35, Tahi 32, drawing Heng 9.
- B 18.** Yu. »今 公 Hi kung gave 孟 Yü aromatic wine. . . ». Chengsung, Pu chung 12, photo Tahi t'ulu 167.
- B 19.*** Ting. »In the 8th month, 3rd quarter . . . the King went to the Chou temple . . . 孟 Yü saluted and bowed down the head; . . . used a victim and sacrificed to 周 王 Chou wang, ○ 王 X wang and 成 王 Ch'eng wang; . . . in the King's 25th year.» Kün 3/3: 42, Tahi 35.
- B 20.*** Tsüe. »When the King first hastened to Ch'eng Chou, he ordered Yü. . . ». K'i 7: 30, Tahi 38.

B 17 and B 19 were found together in the beginning of Tao-kuang's reign in Mei hien, Shensi, and it must be a question of the same Yü in both. B 19 gives a clue to the date: the three kings sacrificed to must be Wen wang, Wu

wang and Ch'eng wang; since the script is very early (in B 17 Wen and Wu have the extra radical 96, and the ductus is primitive), it stands to reason that it is a question of the reign next to Ch'eng wang's, and it is a legitimate conclusion that the vessels were made in K'ang wang's 23rd (B 17) and 25th (B 19) years respectively (B. C. 1056 and 1054).

Whether the Yü of B 18 and B 20 is the same person as in B 17 and B 19 is of course less sure; but since the writing is decidedly early, it is reasonable to place them here.

- B 21.** Chung. »... came to meet 邵王 Chao wang; Southern I Barbarians and Eastern I Barbarians came to audience, 26 states; ... made the precious bell of Tsung Chou.» Kün 3/2: 56, Tahi 46, drawing Kukien 36: 4.

That this Chao wang is identical with 昭 Chao wang is generally accepted by the Chinese scholars.

B 22—34 form a group:

- B 22.** Kuei. »The King went and attacked the prince of 楚 Ch'u . . . ; . . in the 9th month, 4th quarter, on the day ting-ch'ou, he gave a brevet to 又令 Nie Ling. . . ; . . 妻 the Lady Kiang, consort of the King. . . ». Chengsung 6: 11, Tahi 4, photo Umebara I: 2, our Pl. XVI, Weill collection.

- B 23.** Yi. »In the 8th month, on the day kia-shen, the King ordered 明保 Ming-pao, son of Chou kung . . . ; . . he ordered 又 Nie to report in the temple of Chou kung; in the 10th month, 1st quarter, on the day kuei-wei, 明公 Ming kung went to audience in Ch'eng Chou . . . ; . . he used a victim in 康宮 the temple of K'ang wang; . . . 令 Ling presumes to. . . ». Chengsung 4: 49, Tahi 6, photo Umebara I: 10, Freer Gallery of Art.

- B 24.** Yi. Same inscription as the preceding. Photo Umebara I: 11, our Pl. XVIII, Freer Gallery of Art.

- B 25.** Tsun. Same inscription as B 23. Chengsung 7: 19, rubbing Yen king hüe pao 9, drawing Shan 4: 93, our Pl. XXXII.

- B 26.** Yu. »The year when Ming-pao made a Yin sacrifice in Ch'eng Chou. . . ». Chengsung 8: 29, Tahi 8, drawing Shan 4: 34.

- B 27.** Kuei. »The King ordered Ming-kung . . . to attack the Eastern regions . . . the prince of 魯 Lu. . . ». Chengsung 7: 17, Tahi 9, drawing Kukien 13: 8.

- B 28.*** Kuei. The King attacked 簿子 Lu-tsi X; . . . the King gave an order to make a war expedition to the 太保 T'ai-pao. . . ». Kün 2/3: 82, Tahi 22.

- B 29.*** Ting. »In the year when the prince the T'ai-pao came and attacked the rebellious I Barbarians, in the 12th month, the prince presented 旅 Lü cowries. . . ». Kün 2/3: 80, Tahi 23.

- B 30.** Yu. »In the year when the King made a great Yo sacrifice in Tsung Chou, he went and resided in P'ang king; in the 5th month, 3rd quarter, on the day sin-yu . . . ; . . in Ch'eng Chou; . . . 臣辰 Ch'en-Ch'en was breveted. . . ». Chengsung, Sü chung 23, Tahi 27, drawing Shan 4: 37, our Pl. XXXII.

- B 31.** Tsun. Same inscription as B 30. Photo Hakkaku 4, our Pl. XXII.

- B 32.** Ho. Same inscription as B 30. Chengsung 8: 43, drawing Shan 9: 33, our Pl. X.

- B 33.** Ting. »Kung Ts'i cast Wu wang's and Ch'eng wang's sacrificial tripod (tripods?); in the 3rd month, 2nd quarter, on the day ki-ch'ou, the prince made a gift and gave a brevet to 大 Ta. . . ». Chengsung 3: 25, Tahi 30, drawing Shan 3: 11.

B 34. Kuei. »In the 9th month, 1st quarter, on the day mou-sü, the King was in  Nie's ancestral temple; the Lady 妻 Kiang, consort of the King, presented. . . .« Sükia 6: 34, drawing *ibid.*

The six vessels B 22—27 are connected through the name Ming-pao or Ming kung (Prince Ming) — that these are one and the same name follows from B 23 — which occurs in B 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and Nie Ling, which occurs in B 22 and 23. B 22—25 were found together in Lo-yang. There is a whole recent literature about these vessels. Whereas Kuo Mo-jo identifies Ming-pao (Ming kung) with Po K'in, B 9—11 above), son of Chou kung, and dates the inscriptions in Ch'eng wang's time (so also Sü Chung-shu in Bull. Ac. Sin. III: 2), Wu K'i-ch'ang (Yen king hüe pao 9) takes him to be a younger brother of Po K'in and places the vessels much later, in Chao wang's time. There have been many speculations whether Ming-pao is a name or *pao* is an abbreviation of T'ai-pao »Grand Guardian», title of a court dignitary; those who advocate the latter alternative add several other vessels, referring to a T'ai-pao, to this same group. It seems likely that at least two of them (B 28 and B 29 — is the person Lü of the latter the same as in B 5 above?), which refer to an expedition against these very I Barbarians figuring in B 27, really belong here. In any case we had better concentrate upon two points:

On the one hand, the group cannot be placed earlier than Chao wang, since K'ang kung, the temple of K'ang wang, is mentioned in B 23. There has been much discussion whether 成宮 Ch'eng kung, 康宮 K'ang kung, 穩宮 Mu kung etc. in the bronze inscriptions really mean the temples built to the spirits of Ch'eng wang, K'ang wang, Mu wang etc., or the terms have another significance. Liu Sin-yüan (K'i 9: 14) vindicates that in combinations like K'ang Chao kung, the word K'ang is simply honorific, whereas K'ang kung alone means the temple of K'ang wang. Sü Chung-shu (*loc. cit.*) denies altogether the connection of these temple names with the names of the kings, and Kuo Mo-jo seems to share his opinion. But Wu K'i-ch'ang (Yen king hüe pao 9 and T'u shu kuan kuan k'an 6, p. 500 ff.) furnishes such a crushing weight of concrete examples proving that they are really the posthumous temples of the kings, (Liu Tsie, T'u shu kuan kuan k'an 6, in a review of Kuo's Tahi, agrees with Wu), that his thesis must be said to be proved. Nobody could be justified in placing an inscription like B 23, containing the words K'ang kung (temple of K'ang wang), earlier than Chao wang.

On the other hand, the ductus of the script in all these inscriptions is so decidedly early that there is really no reason to think of another Chou kung, prince of Chou, than the famous first one, brother of Wu wang, who lived a few years into the reign of K'ang wang. A son of his: »Chou kung tsī Ming-pao», may very well have existed in Chao wang's time and sacrificed in the temple of K'ang wang.

Let us sum up: All Chinese critics consider these vessels, which have been

unearthed recently and are universally recognized as being authentic, to belong to the earliest part of the dynasty (an additional support for this is furnished by B 33). Those who date them in Ch'eng wang's reign expose themselves to a great difficulty from the term K'ang kung. Therefore those who place them in Chao wang's reign are surely right.

The three vessels B 30—32 were found together with the Nie Ling bronzes (22—25 above); since their script type is very early, there is every reason to consider them contemporary with the Nie Ling vessels. For Tsung Chou and P'ang king, both indicating Western Chou, see above.

The tripod B 33 was also found together with the Nie Ling vessels (B 22—25) and like those its inscription has at the end the picture of a bird and two *册* *ts'ē*. The hand of the script is the same; they are obviously of the same date. We have seen that the Nie Ling series in all probability belongs to Chao wang's reign. Here we have a tripod cast for sacrifices to Wu wang and Ch'eng wang, the 1st and 2nd kings. The vessel should reasonably be little posterior to them, and Chao wang, the 4th king, will fit in very nicely.

As to B 34, its connection with this series is less certain. But since the name Nie is the same as in the Nie Ling vessels, and the queen was a lady Kiang, just as in B 22, Wu K'i-ch'ang is probably right in placing this tripod under Chao wang together with the other Nie series.

B 35—40 form a group:

- B 35.** Yu. »In the 4th month, 1st quarter, on the day kia-wu, the King went sightseeing in Ch'ang; the prince 東宮 Tung-kung . . . ; 效 Hiao does not presume to . . . ». K'i 6: 15, Tahi 88, drawing Ch'angan 1: 17, rubbing I shu 26.
- B 36.** Tsun. Same inscription as B 35. Photo Hakkaku 9, our Pl. XXI.
- B 37.** Kuei. » . . . the year when the King ordered Tung-kung to pursue with the Sixth army . . . ». Tahi 89, drawing Kukien 27: 30.
- B 38.** Kuei. »休王 The gracious King presented 效父 Hiao-fu cowries. . . ». K'i 17: 13, Tahi 80, drawing Huaimi, Shang 22.
- B 39.** Ting. 休王 The gracious King presented X-fu cowries. . . ». K'ia 6: 12, drawing Kukien 3: 25 (placed here because it is obviously written by the same scribe as the preceding).
- B 40.*** Ting. »In the King's 1st year, 6th month, 3rd quarter, on the day yi-hai, the King was in the great . . . of Mu wang of Chou; the King said thus: 𠩎 Hu, I order you . . . ; 井叔 Tsing-shu gave Hu . . . ; 效父 Hiao-fu . . . ; Hu made the tripod of his deceased father . . . ; Hu, by aid of K'uang Ki reported to 東宮 Tungkung . . . ». K'i 2: 21, Tahi 80.

The inscriptions of B 35—38 are connected by the names Tung-kung and Hiao-fu. Kuo Mo-jo places them in Hiao wang's reign (909—895), because he identifies 休王 *hiu wang* with 孝王 *Hiao wang*; this is a guess without the slightest foundation. For the dating of these vessels we have two points d'appui. On the one hand, they are certainly connected with B 40, the Hu Ting, on which we have both Tung-kung and Hiao-fu. The missing character after the word *t'ai* in that inscription we certainly have to fill out by *shii* 'room', as in dozens

of other inscriptions, and it means »in the Great Room of the temple of Mu wang». On the other hand, they have a script which is clearly of the early type. In B 40 therefore *yuan nien* »the 1st year» must refer to Mu wang's successor Kung wang, and the date be 946 B. C.; the other inscriptions of the group are slightly older than this and fall in the reign of Mu wang.

The inscriptions B 1—40 have been attributable to particular reigns of the early period (1122—947). The following: B 41—77, are only in a general way attributable to the same period because of their script type.

B 41. P'an. »延 Yen has made for 周公 Chou kung.» Chengsung, Pu shang 21, photo Eumorfopoulos I: 47, our Pl. XVI.

The Chou kung is ambiguous; but the script type indicates one of the early Chou reigns.

B 42. Kuei. »In the 9th month, 3rd quarter, on the day keng-yin, Hien-po in 畢公 Pi kung's (the prince's of Pi) house received grace from the Son of Heaven. Photo Mengwei, Shang 25, our Pl. XI.

Kuo Mo-jo in Ku tai ming k'o huei k'ao identifies the prince of Pi with the one in the chapter Ku ming of the Shu king, who must have lived in Ch'eng wang's and K'ang wang's time. There is really no support for this. Yet the script is decidedly very early.

B 43—46 form a group:

✓**B 43.** Yu. »伯父 Po Ch'i-fu (we read Ch'i and not Si because of B 46) with the 成 Ch'eng army went East and was ordered to attack the Southern I Barbarians; in the 1st month, 2nd quarter, on the day sin-ch'ou, he was in P'ei; . . . 競 King had his merits reviewed.» (There are various interpretations of the phrase *mie li* (*han?*), of which I consider »to review the merits of» to be the most likely). Chengsung, Pu shang 12, Tahi 55, photo Senoku II: 63.

B 44. Kuei. »In the 12th month, 3rd quarter, on the day jen-wu, Po Ch'i-fu (as in 43) bestowed grace upon X. K'i 17: 17, Tahi 57, drawing Shan 8: 50, also Sükia 6: 26.

B 45. Kuei. »In the 6th month, 4th quarter, on the day jen-shen, Po Ch'i-fu (as in 43) reviewed the merits of 競 King. Chengsung 5: 40, Tahi 56, photo Tahi t'uлу 64.

B 46.* Ting. »伯父 Po Ch'i-fu made the . . . tripod.» Kün 1/3: 42.

The name Po Ch'i-fu occurs in B 43—46, King in B 43 and 45. Kuo's theory that Ch'i is equal to 辟 P'i is vetoed by B 46; therefore also his rather wild speculation that Po Ch'i-fu should be identical with the Shi Yung-fu of B 47 below (辟 雍!). The script of the group is early.

B 47—54 form a group:

B 47. Tsun. »In the 13th month, 2nd quarter, on the day ting-mao, Kien followed 師 爾父 Shi Yung-fu and kept guard in the X camp. K'i 17: 7, Tahi 51, drawing Lianglei 3: 14.

B 48. Hien. »In the 6th month, 4th quarter, on the day ping-yin, Shi Yung-fu kept guard in the 古 餘 Ancient Camp; Yü served with 父 侯 the prince of X. . . . Chengsung 4: 21, Tahi 51, photo Senoku I: 12.

- B 48.** Ting. »In the 11th month Shī Yung-fu . . . came to 虍 X. . .». K'ia 6: 11, Tahi 52, photo Mengwei, Sü 6, our Pl. IV.
- B 50.** Yu. »X followed Shī Yung-fu and kept guard in the Ancient Camp. . .». Kün 3/1: 15, Tahi 52, drawing Po 10: 32.
- B 51.** Yu. »The King ordered 虍 Tung and said: The I Barbarians of the 淮 Huai dare to attack the inner states; you with the officers of the Ch'eng Chou camp shall keep guard at the Ancient Camp; 伯 雖 父 Po Yung-fu reviewed the merits of 父 Lu. . .». Tahi 53, drawing T'ao 2: 39.
- B 52.** Chi. Same inscription as B 51. Drawing Shan 4: 91.
- B 53.** Kuei. »When Po Yung-fu came from 虍 X, he reviewed the merits of Lu and presented. . .». Tahi 54, photo Senoku II: 105.
- B 54.*** Kuei. »In the King's 1st month, on the day keng-yin, the King said thus: 伯 父 Lu po Tung . . . ; . . . achieved merits in the state of Chou; . . . the Son of Heaven. . .». K'i 4: 16, Tahi 54.

That Shī Yung-fu and Po Yung-fu is the same person follows from the identity of place names in B 48, 49, 50, 51, 53. Lu po Tung of B 54 is obviously the same person as in B 51 and 53. The script of the group is of the early type, but there is no possibility of a precise attribution to any particular reign. Have the Lu vessels here anything to do with the Lu-tsi X of B 28 above?

- B 55.** Ting. »In the 12th month, 1st quarter, on the day ping-wu, the King was in 周新宮 the New Temple of Chou . . . 師湯父 Shī T'ang-fu saluted. . .». K'ia 4: 28, Tahi 66, drawing Ch'angan 1: 6, also Shan 2: 80.

Kuo wants to date this vessel in Kung wang's time, because B 83 below has the phrase: Kung wang was in the *Sin kung* New Temple; but there is of course nothing to show that this *Sin kung* had not existed and got its name under an earlier king. Because of the script we can hardly place the vessel later than Mu wang.

B 56—59 form a group:

- B 56.** Ting. »The King ordered 遣 K'ien to vanquish the rebellious I of the East; Ch'i followed K'ien on his expedition. . .». K'i 16: 5, Tahi 12, drawing Shiliu 1: 17.
- B 57.** Tsun. »When the King went on a war expedition to the South and was in 南 Han. . .». (The last character is only in part discernible, but has probably to be filled out so). Kukien 8: 43, drawing *ibid*.
- B 58.*** Tsun. »In the 13th month, on the day sin-mao, when the King was in Han, he presented to K'ien . . . ; . . . made the precious vessel of the Lady 姬 Ki.» Cheng-sung 7: 19, Tahi 12.
- B 59.*** Yu. »In the 19th year, when the King was in Han, 王 姜 the Lady Kiang, consort of the King, ordered to make a brevet for K'itung. . .». K'ia 19: 22, Tahi 11.

The vessels of this group are connected by the names K'ien (B 56 and 58) and Han (B 57, 58, 59). Since it is a question of a big expedition to the East and South (cf. B 22, 27, 29) and since there is a Lady Kiang, consort of the King (cf. B 22), and since finally the script type is very early, it is tempting to place these vessels along with the Nie Ling vessels (B 22 ff.) in Chao wang's reign.

B 60—61 belong together:

B 60. Ting. »In the 22nd year, 4th month, 3rd quarter, on the day ki-yu, the King sojourned in the 豊宮 Feng Temple...; on the day ting-si the King reviewed the merits of 庚嬴 Keng Ying...». Tahi 45, drawing Kukien 3: 39.

B 61. Yu. »In the King's 10th month, 3rd quarter, on the day ki-ch'ou, the King went to *Keng Ying kung* the ancestral temple of Keng Ying; he gave cowries, ten strings...». K'ia 19: 3, Tahi 44, drawing Lianglei 6: 1.

Both Kuo Mo-jo and Wu K'i-ch'ang place these vessels in K'ang wang's reign, because in Tso chuan (Chao 4) it is said: »*K'ang yu Feng kung* K'ang wang had the Feng temple.» This, of course, is in no way conclusive, for the Feng kung may have lasted long after K'ang wang. Moreover the character is so badly drawn in the Kukien that it is very questionable whether it can be read Feng. The script of B 61 is early rather than late.

B 62—63 belong together:

B 62. Ting. »In the year when the King went to Ch'eng Chou, he amply rewarded 遷 Ch'o and made a gift to 漣公 Lien kung...». K'i 2: 5, Tahi 24, drawing Tahi t'u 50.

B 63.* Ting. »When the King attacked the I Barbarians of the East, Lien kung (as in 62) ordered...». Chengsung, Pu shang 12, Tahi 24.

The script is very early, and the war mentioned must be one of the big expeditions of the early reigns.

B 64. Ting. »The set of tripods of 毛公 Mao kung (the prince of Mao).» K'i 2: 51, ill. I shu 8. The sense of the frequently occurring 旅 (sometimes, as here, with an additional rad. 車) is doubtful: 'travelling tripod'? 'tripod used for *liü* sacrifices'? We consider the sense of »series» to be the most probable: »set of tripods» etc.

This Mao kung has nothing whatever to do with the famous Mao kung Yin of B 143 below. The script type is entirely different and indicates a considerable difference of epoch. B 64 must be very early in the dynasty. We place it in the cat. B, because the princes of Mao were connected with the Royal court.

B 65. Ting. »In the 1st month, the King was in Ch'eng Chou; he ordered the *siao-ch'en* 売 Ling to make for the Lady 尚 Youngest Sister Yün...». K'i 16: 7, drawing Po 2: 14.

In this inscription, Wu K'i-ch'ang reads certain place names so as to connect the vessel with certain others dated by him in Chao wang's reign. This seems to us too uncertain. In any case the script is very early.

B 66. Kuei. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day kuei-si, the King was in Ch'eng Chou; 格伯 Ko po...». K'i 16: 36, Tahi 75, photo Mengwei, Shang 33, also drawing Huaimi, Hia 28.

There were five vessels with this inscription. Kuo places them in Kung wang's reign on quite flimsy grounds. The script, though not very early, is clearly older than that of the inscriptions with which Kuo combines it, and certainly from the first half of Western Chou. Ko po probably does not mean »Prince of Ko»

but is a name: »Eldest brother from Ko», since there is a Ko chung »Second brother from Ko» in an inscription Kün 2/3: 37.

Of the following inscriptions, B 67, 69, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77 have a very early script type. In 68, 70, 73 the script, without being very early, is still undoubtedly from the first half rather than from the second half of Western Chou:

- B 67.** Ting. »On the day yi-hai, when the King had been in the X camp . . . ; he returned to 雉 Lo, and made a gift of cowries . . . ». K'i 2: 4, drawing Heng 4.
- B 68.** Li. »戒 Kie made the brilliant vessel for the residence in P'ang . . . ». Cheng-sung 4: 5, drawing Shan 3: 19. (For P'ang see B 14 above).
- B 69.** Yu. »In the 1st month, on the day ting-ch'ou, the King went to 呂 Lü . . . ; the King made a *lao* sacrifice . . . ; 穆子 Mo-tsi signalled the King's grace . . . ». K'i 6: 14, ill. I shu 26, also drawing Kukien 15: 9.
- B 70.** Yu. »In the 1st month, on the day kia-wu, the King was in Cheng(?); . . . 農 Nung saluted thrice and bowed down the head and now presumes to signal the King's grace . . . ». K'i 6: 15, ill. I shu 26, also drawing Kukien 15: 13.
- B 71.** Ting. » . . . the King sojourned in Chou, and gave cowries, five strings . . . ». K'i 2: 3, drawing Heng 3, also T'ao 1: 24.
- B 72.*** Kuei. Same inscription as B 71. K'ia 12: 11.
- B 73.** Ting. »The chief ordered 史獸 the scribe Shou to achieve merit in Ch'eng Chou . . . ». Chengsung 3: 29; photo Shuangyü 7, also drawing Shan 2: 79.
- B 74.** Ting. »When 臨侯 the prince of Yen first had audience in Tsung Chou, the King gave 旨 Chi cowries . . . ». Chengsung 3: 16, photo Senoku I: 2. Cf. C 186 below.
- B 75.** Ting. »The prince of Yen, Chi (as in B 74), has made . . . ». K'ia 6: 2, drawing Heng 16, also P'anku, Hia 14.
- B 76.** Ting. »On the day kuei-hai, the King moved to the new clan temple in X; . . . the Son of Heaven gave 東 Kien big cowries . . . ». Po 2: 26, drawing *ibid.*
- B 77.** Kuei. »X po (the prince of X) followed the King in attacking the rebellious 荆 King . . . ». Chou kin wen ts'un 3: 109, photo Mengwei 1: 24.

King is the same as 楚 Ch'u, and Wu K'i-ch'ang combines this inscription with the great expeditions against Ch'u in Chao wang's reign. In any case the script type places the vessel in the early part of the dynasty.

II. *Inscriptions from the second half (946—771) of Western Chou.*

B 78—86 form a group:

- B 78.** Ting. »In the 6th month, 2nd quarter, on the day keng-yin, the King went to the Great Room; 司馬井伯 the *si-ma* Tsing po assisted 師全父 Shi Kuang(?) -fu . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven . . . ». K'ia 4: 26, Tahi 70, drawing Heng 13, also Ch'angan 1: 5.
- B 79.** Kuei. »In the King's 12th year, 3rd month, 3rd quarter, on the day keng-yin, the King was in Chou, and went to the Great Room and ascended the throne; the *si-ma* Tsing po assisted 徒 T'u . . . ». Tahi 71, drawing Sükia 12: 44. (Both Kuo and Wu erroneously read 走 Tsou for T'u and identify this Tsou with the Tsou of a Chung bell in Po 22: 22, with which it has nothing to do).
- B 80.** Kuei. »In the King's 7th year, 13th month, 2nd quarter, on the day kia-yin, the King was in Chou, and was in the ancestral temple of Shī Siu; . . . entered and

- assisted 牧 Mu...; the King called 內史吳 the *nei-shi Wu*...». Tahi 67, drawing K'ao 3: 24.
- B 81.** Kuei. »In the 6th month, 2nd quarter, on the day mou-sü, in the morning, the King went to the Great Room; 師毛父 Shi Mao-fu took his place of honour, Tsing po assisted...». Tahi 69, drawing Po 17: 16.
- B 82.*** Kuei. »In the 1st year, 6th month, 3rd quarter, on the day kia-sü, the King was in the residence of Tu; he went to the Great Room; Tsing po assisted 師虎 Shi Hu...; the King called the *nei-shi Wu*...; the Son of Heaven...». K'ia 11: 7, Tahi 60.
- B 83.*** Ting. »In the 15th year, 5th month, 2nd quarter, on the day jen-wu, 虢王 Kung wang was in Chou, in the 新宮 New Temple...; 史趙曹 the scribe Ts'io Ts'ao was given...; Ts'io Ts'ao saluted and bowed down the head, and now presumes to signal the grace of the Son of Heaven...». Chengsung 3: 31, Tahi 59.
- B 84.*** Ting. »In the 7th year, 10th month, 2nd quarter, the King was in Chou, in the 般宮 Pan temple; in the morning, the King went to the Great Room; Tsing po assisted Ts'io Ts'ao...; the Son of Heaven...». Chengsung 3: 30, Tahi 59.
- B 85.*** Ting. »In the King's 9th month, on the day ting-hai, the King sojourned in the Pan temple (as in B 84); Tsing po entered and assisted 畏 Li...; the Son of Heaven...». Chengsung 3: 33, Tahi 72.
- B 86.*** Kuei. »In the King's 2nd month, 2nd quarter, on the day mou-yin, the King went to the Great Room of the ancestral temple of 師戲 Shi Hi; Tsing po entered and assisted 豆閑 Tou Pi; the Son of Heaven...; therefore I have made my fine father 蔡叔 Li Shu's precious vessel.» K'i 4: 15, Tahi 69.

One of these inscriptions is directly dated: 虢 and 肇 are used promiscuously in the inscriptions, and B 83 is therefore made in the 15th year of Kung wang. According to the orthodox chronology Kung wang reigned 946—935, which admits of no »15th year». But the Ti wang shi ki gives him a reign of 20 years (see p. 27 above), so B 83 has to be dated round about 932 B. C. B 83 concerns a person Ts'io Ts'ao, who recurs in B 84, there »assisted» by the ceremony master Tsing po. This Tsing po, sometimes styled the *sü-ma* Tsing po, connects the whole series of inscriptions of this group; he occurs in B 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86. Again B 80 is connected with this series by a person, the *nei-shi Wu*, who recurs in B 82. It might seem questionable whether the Tsing po is really one and the same person and the inscriptions really belong together. Tsing po does not mean »prince of Tsing», for we have also 井叔 Tsing shu and 井季 Tsing ki, so 伯 po is simply »eldest brother». Tsing was a place in Cheng, see Shuo wen kie tsī under 鄭 Tsing (the reading Tsing of Kuang yün and Yü p'ien is preferable to the reading Hing). It has to be distinguished from 邢 Hing, the *hou* prince of which has figured in inscr. B 13 above. Now Tsing po »Eldest brother from Tsing» might be a name carried by various persons, just like 賴仲 Kuo chung »Second brother from Kuo» (see p. 51). We also have several Tsing shu »Third brother from Tsing» (see p. 52). But here we believe it is really a question of one and the same Tsing po, for the script is very similar in the whole series and is very likely from one and the same hand; the only exception is B 82, which is somewhat more stiff and different from the

others — it is certainly written by another hand. But its *nei-shi* Wu connects it quite definitely with B 80 and thus with our group. Moreover all these inscriptions are very analogous in formulation, and there are occasional other similarities of detail (e. g. Pan kung in both B 84 and 85), which makes it quite certain that they all belong together.

B 87—97 form a group:

- B 87.** Ting. »克 K'o said: very august was my grandfather (ancestor?) 師 華父 Shi Hua-fu . . . ; . . . he could reverently protect his chief 爲王 Kung wang . . . ; the King was in Tsung Chou; the King went to the temple of Mu [wang] . . . ; 季季 Ch'ung ki assisted 善夫 克 the *shan-fu* K'o . . . ». K'i 2: 28, Tahi 125, drawing Tahi t'uлу 16.
- B 88.** Ting. »In the King's 23rd year, 9th month, the King was in Tsung Chou; the King ordered the *shan-fu* K'o to transmit his orders to Ch'eng Chou; . . . I, K'o, have made my august grandfather (ancestor?) 蘭季 Li ki's precious vessel. . . ». Chengsung 3: 34, Tahi 128; drawings (three vessels) T'ao 1: 34—38, our Pl. XLIX. These were found (a series of 7 vessels) in K'i shan hien of Shensi. Here the *shan-fu* K'o calls his grandfather Li ki, in B 87 he calls him Shi Hua-fu; as Kuo points out, the former is a *ming* personal name proper, the latter a *tsi* honorary name.
- B 89.** Kuei. »In the 13th year, 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day jen-yin, the King made an expedition against the I Barbarians of the South; . . . I, 無父 Wu Ki, have made my august grandfather 蘭季 Li ki's vessel. . . ». Chengsung 6: 3, Tahi 120, photo Mengwei, Shang 31, our Pl. XLI; also drawing of lid Shan 8: 87.
- B 90.** Sü. In the 18th year, 12th month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-yin, the King was in Chou, in K'ang wang's and Mu wang's temple; The King ordered 尹 Yin to assist 史廷 the scribe Yin to give a deed of gift to the *shan-fu* K'o; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». K'ia 15: 18, Tahi 127, photo Umehara II: 122, our Pl. XXXVIII, Buckingham collection.
- B 91.** Sü. »In the King's 25th year, . . . in the ancestral temple of 師田 Shi T'ien; . . . the *shan-fu* K'o; I, 無攸从 Kuo Ts'ung have made my august grandfather 丁公 Ting kung's and my illustrious father 惠公 Huei kung's vessel. » Chengsung 6: 44, Tahi 130, ill. Chengts'iu 22.
- B 92.** Kuei. »In the King's 27th year, 1st month, 3rd quarter, on the day ting-hai, the King was in Chou, in K'ang wang's temple; in the morning the King went to Mu wang's Great Room. . . : Ch'ung ki (as in B 87) assisted 伊 I . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». Chengsung 6: 9, Tahi 132; photo Tahi t'uлу 105.
- B 93.** Ting. »In the 32nd year, 3rd month, 1st quarter, on the day jen-ch'en, the King was in Chou, in K'ang wang's temple, and loitered in the Great Room; Kuo Ts'ung (as in B 91) made a plaint . . . ; . . . 猥旅 Kuo Lü . . . ; I, Ts'ung, have made my august grandfather Ting kung's (as in B 91) and my illustrious father Huei kung's (as in B 91) vessel; may for ten thousand years the sons and grandsons of 無攸从 Kuo Yu Ts'ung treasure and use it. » K'i 2: 15, Tahi 133, drawing T'ao 1: 40.
- B 94.** Chung. »虢叔旅 Kuo shu Lü said: my very illustrious august father 惠叔 Huei shu . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». K'i 9: 30, Tahi 136. A set of seven bells were found in Ch'ang-an (Shensi) as related by Wu Ta-ch'eng (K'ia chai tsi ku lu shi wen p. 1). Four of them had the complete inscription of 91 characters; such a one is given in drawing T'ao, Sü 3. Three (of a Pien-chung set) had only part of the inscription; such a one is given in photo Senoku Betsu 9, our Pl. XLVII.
- B 95.** P'an. This is the famous 散氏 *p'an*, the P'an of the San family. It is full of names of persons and places, and there is a whole literature about its interpretation.

tion; a particularly full commentary is given by Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan t'ang ku kin wen k'ao shi). To us, the salient fact is that among the personages of San (determined by Wang as a state in Shensi), is mentioned 徒從 爭 Yu (Shu?) Ts'ung Kuo, which must necessarily be the same person as Kuo Yu Ts'ung of B 93. K'i 8:21, Tahi 137, ill. Tahi t'uлу.

B 96. Chung. »In the 16th year, 9th month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-yin, the King was in Chou, in K'ang wang's illustrious temple; the King called 士 爭 the officer Hu to summon 克 K'o . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven . . . ». Chengsung 1: 9, Tahi 108, drawing T'ao, Sü shang 8, our Pl. LI. This is the set of six bells found in K'i shan hien, Shensi, mentioned p. 13 above.

B 97.* Ting. »In the 9th month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-yin, Shi Yin (as in B 89) made . . . ». Chengsung 3: 22, Tahi 128, note.

There are various points which connect these 11 vessels. First we have the *shan-fu* K'o in B 87, 88, 90, 91; that the K'o of B 96 is the same person is in itself not certain (a monosyllabic name like this proves nothing), since there is not the title *shan-fu*; yet the script is so extremely similar to that of the *shan-fu* K'o vessels, as if by the same hand, that we can venture the combination. Then we have the curious person Kuo Ts'ung or Kuo Yu Ts'ung. That these two forms refer to the same person follows from B 91 and B 93; in B 95 we have the name inverted: Yu Ts'ung Kuo, the character Kuo with a slight variant — that it is still the same name is certain (see Wang Kuo-wei, *loc. cit.*). This person then connects B 91, 93 and 95, and via B 91, which has also *shan-fu* K'o, these are joined to the series above. B 92 is connected with B 87 (the *shan-fu* K'o series) by the person Ch'ung ki. B 89 is connected with B 88 (*shan-fu* K'o series) by the name Grandfather Li ki. B 97 is connected with B 90 (*shan-fu* K'o series) by the name Shi Yin. Finally, that the Kuo shu Lü of B 94 is the same as the Kuo Lü of B 93 (Kuo Yu Ts'ung series) is certain from the fact that we have »august father Huei kung» in B 91 and »august father Huei shu» in B 93.

It should be pointed out that the *shī* Hu of B 96 is not the same as the Hu of B 40 above; it is written differently.

The period to which this series belongs has been determined by Wang Kuo-wei as that of Li wang (878—842); this has been accepted a. o. by Kuo Mo-jo, who says that since Li ki (Shī Hua-fu) served under Kung wang (946—935), his grandson the *shan-fu* K'o must have lived under Ih wang (894—879) and Li wang; and the dates in these inscriptions giving high year figures: B 90 18th year, B 88 23rd year, B 91 25th year, B 92 27th year, B 93 32nd year, it must be a question of Li wang.

Now this is not quite conclusive; for on the one hand we cannot build on the reign list anterior to 841, and on the other hand 祖 *tsu* may mean 'ancestor' just as well as 'grandfather'. We have therefore to reckon also with Süan wang (827—782) as a possibility, a ruler who also had as many as 32 years of reign (Eastern Chou, from 770, is excluded, since various vessels of the group were

found in Shensi). Let us state, therefore, that the series must be at least two generations posterior to Kung wang, say roughly not earlier than 900 B. C., and certainly not later than 796 (32nd year Süan) B. C. In this way we are entirely on the safe side, and have dated it within a century. We can afford to add that in all probability Wang Kuo-wei is right in placing the series under Li wang.

B 98—105 form a group:

- B 98. Kuei. »In the 5th year, 1st month, on the day ki-ch'ou, 瑶生 Tiao Sheng (Chou sheng?) had service...: 召伯虎 Hu, prince of Shao, said....« Kün 3/2: 25, Tahi 158; photo Tch'ou X, XI.
- B 99. Kuei. »In the King's 1st year, 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, 伯父 Po Ho-fu said thus....« Tahi 111, drawing Po 16: 27.
- B 100. Chung. »井仁僕 Tsing Jen Ning said...; Ning made a big... bell for Ho-fu (as in 99)...« K'i 9: 17, Tahi 166, photo Senoku Betsu 1, also drawing T'ao, Sü shang 1.
- B 101. Kuei. »In the 1st year, 5th month, 1st quarter, on the day kia-yin, the King was in Chou; he went to K'ang wang's temple; ... T'ung chung assisted 師兌 Shi Tuei...; 世師父 the deceased Shi Ho-fu...; I, Tuei, presume to signal the illustrious good grace of the Son of Heaven, and have made my august grandfather Ch'eng kung's vessel.« Chengsung 6: 17, Tahi 173, drawing Shan 8: 93.
- B 102. Kuei. »In the 3rd year, 2nd month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the King was in Chou; he went to the Great temple; X po assisted Shi Tuei (as in 101)...; the King called....: I have ordered your deceased Shi Ho-fu (as in 101)...; I, Tuei, presume to signal the illustrious grace of the Son of Heaven and have made my august father 薦公 Li kung's... vessel.« Chengsung 6: 20, Tahi 174, drawing Shan 8: 95.
- B 103. Hu. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the King went to Ch'eng wang's temple; 井公 Tsing kung entered and assisted 詈 Hu; ... Hu saluted and bowed down the head; I, Hu, presume to signal the illustrious good grace and order of the Son of Heaven, and therefore I have made my cultivated father Li kung's (as in 102) vase....« Chengsung, Pu shang 39, Tahi 84; drawing Shan 4: 57.
- B 104.* Kuei. »In the 6th year, 4th month, on the day kia-tsí, the King was in 莽 P'ang; 召伯虎 Shao po Hu reported and said....: then he gave as a recompense a pi jade to Tiao Sheng (as in B 98)...« K'i 4: 27, Tahi 162.
- B 105.* Kuei. »Shi Ho-fu reported to the King; in the 11th year, 9th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the King was in Chou; he went to the Great Room...; the steward Tiao Sheng entered....« K'a 9: 17, Tahi 164.

The connecting links between these inscriptions are as follows: Ho-fu, called either Po Ho-fu or Shi Ho-fu (just as Yung-fu was called either Po Yung-fu or Shi Yung-fu in inscr. B 47—54), occurs in B 99, 100, 101, 102, 105. Tiao Sheng and Shao po Hu both occur in both B 98 and 104. Tiao Sheng recurs in B 105, and so connects these two with the Ho-fu series. Shi Tuei further connects B 101 and 102. B 103 has the same name Hu as B 40 above, and hence Kuo dates it together with that inscription, but that is quite erroneous. The script type is very much later. It is dedicated to the same »father Li kung« as B 102, and the script hand is identical; there can be no doubt, to our mind,

that the inscription belongs here. One more Hu (士 shī Hu) in B 96 is probably equally another person, the graph of the name being different.

A date for the series is furnished by the name Shao po Hu, i. e. Hu, prince of Shao. In the Shī king, ode Kiang Han, is mentioned a 召虎 Shao Hu, and Mao Heng (2nd c. B. C.), in his famous commentary, which embodies a great amount of late Chou lore, identifies this Shao Hu with prince 穩 Mu of Shao, who was a prominent man under both Li wang (878—842) and Süan wang (827—782). »The 5th» and »the 6th» years (B 98 and 104) must therefore refer to 823 and 822 B. C. (or possibly 837 and 836, the 5th and 6th years of the Kung-ho interregnum between Li wang and Süan wang). B 101 and 102 (with 103) must be somewhat later than the rest, since Ho-fu there is spoken of as deceased.

B 106. Kuei. »In the 2nd year, 1st month, 1st quarter, the King was in Chou, in the X temple; on the day ting-hai the King went to the Süan sie shooting arena of Süan wang's temple; 毛伯 Mao po entered...». K'ao 3: 9, drawing *ibid.*

B 107. P'an. »In the 12th year, 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, 穩季子伯 Kuo ki Tsī po made...; he attacked the Hien yün to the South of the Lo;... the King went to the temple of Chou, to the shooting arena of Süan wang's temple and there gave a feast....». K'i 8: 15, Tahi 101, drawing Tahi t'uлу 152. This P'an was found in Pao-ki of Mei hien, Shensi.

This P'an is the vessel adduced by Maspero (see p. 11 above) as a typical example of forgery. He reproduces the whole inscription, yet skipping the very line which gives the point d'appui for the dating: that about the *Süan sie*. The sense of *sie* (several graph variants) is a matter for controversy: 'shooting arena', or 'open temple (without closed chambers)', or 'terrace where sacrificial vessels were stored'; but that it is something in an ancestral temple is certain. Kuo Mo-jo denies that 宣 Süan refers to Süan wang, and without any reasons at all dates the vessel in Ih wang's time. But since already Kung-yang chuan (Süan 16th year) clearly indicates that *Süan sie* was in the Süan kung, and since this latter, by analogy with scores of other cases: Ch'eng kung 'temple of Ch'eng wang', K'ang kung 'temple of K'ang wang', Mu kung 'temple of Mu wang' etc. (cf. p. 34 above) must be interpreted as Süan wang's temple, we have to place the inscription after the death of Süan wang. On the other hand, it cannot be of Eastern Chou time, since it was found in Shensi. We have thus to date it in Yu wang's time (781—771). Süan wang had carried on big wars against the Huns (Hien yün), and Yu wang had to continue the hostilities and was badly harassed by the Hien yün. Our inscription evidently refers to one of these encounters.

The inscription B 106 speaks of the same *Süan sie*, and has been placed here tentatively; it is certain that it is later than Süan wang's reign, but nothing proves definitely that it cannot be of Eastern Chou time.

The inscriptions B 78—107 have been attributable to particular reigns or definite periods within the second half (946—771) of Western Chou. The follow-

ing, B 108—152, are only in a general way attributable to the same period because of their late script type:

B 108. Fu. »史 兮 The scribe Jung has made. . . ». K'ia 15: 16, Tahi 98, drawing T'ao, Sü shang 43.

Kuo has identified this Jung (the reading of the name is really quite doubtful; there are many proposals; we have followed the Shuo wen) with the Jung of inscr. B 154 ff. below. This is not conclusive, since the Jung here has another title. On the contrary there is every reason to think that they are two different persons, for the script of our inscription here is decidedly more recent; it belongs to the late period. The inscription here is rimed in typical Chou fashion.

B 109—113 form a group:

B 109. Ting. »In the King's 8th month, on the day ping-wu, the King ordered the prince of X, 伯 𩫑 Po Ch'en, and said. . . ». K'i 16: 10, drawing Huaimi, Hia 7.

B 110. Kuei. »In the 5th year, 3rd month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-yin, the King was in Chou, in 師 𩫑 宮 Shi Lu kung (the ancestral temple of Shi Lu?); in the morning the King went to the Great Room. . . ; 司 馬 共 the *sī-ma* Kung assisted 謙 Kien. . . ; the King called 內 史 先 the *nei-shī* Sien. . . ». Tahi 116, drawing T'ao 2: 10.

B 111.* Ting. »In the 3rd year, 3rd month, 1st quarter, on the day kia-sü, the King was in Chou in Shi Lu kung (as in 110); in the morning the King went to the Great Room. . . ; the *sī-ma* Kung assisted Shi Ch'en. . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». Kün 3/2: 21, Tahi 113.

B 112.* Kuei. »In the 3rd year. . . Great Room (= the preceding); the *sī-ma* Kung assisted 師 𩫑 Shi Yü. . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». K'ia 9: 17, Tahi 115.

B 113.* Kuei. »In the King's 9th month, 2nd quarter, on the day keng-yin, the King was in Chou, in K'ang wang's temple; in the morning he went to the Great Room. . . ; 司 馬 單 伯 the *sī-ma* the prince of Tan entered and assisted 揚 Yang; the King called the *nei-shī* Sien (as in 110). . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». K'ia 11: 16, Tahi 117.

In B 109 the person called Po Ch'en is evidently the same as Shi Ch'en in B 111 (just as Po Yung-fu is equal to Shi Yung-fu in B 47—54, and Po Ho-fu is equal to Shi Ho-fu in B 98—105). Si-ma Kung connects B 110, 111, 112; *nei-shī* Sien connects B 110 and 113. The script of the group is of the late type.

B 114—B 121 form a group:

B 114. Ting. »In the 3rd year, 5th month, on the day ting-sī, the King was in Tsung Chou; he ordered 史 頤 the scribe Sung. . . ; . . . to Ch'eng Chou; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». Chengsung 3: 32, Tahi 63, drawing Heng 14, also P'anku, Shang 10, our Pl. XLIX. There are two tripods, the other being drawn in Kukien 3: 21.

B 115. Kuei. Same inscription as B 114. Chengsung 6: 5; there was a series of Kuei vessels, drawings in Heng 27, Lianglei 6: 35 (lid), Kukien 27: 16.

B 116. Ting. »In the 3rd year, 5th month, 4th quarter, on the day kia-sü, the King was in Chou, in K'ang wang's and Chao wang's temple. In the morning the King went to the Great Room and ascended the throne; the steward 弘 Hung assisted 頤 Sung. . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». Chengsung 3: 36, Tahi 64; drawings (there were two vessels) Sükia 1: 28, 1: 31, our Pl. XXXV.

- B 117.** Kuei. Same inscription as B 116. Chungsung 6: 21, drawings (there were four in the series) T'ao 2: 7, Shan 8: 99 (lid).
- B 118.** Hu. Same inscription as B 116. Chungsung 7: 34, photo (there were two Hu) Wuying 87, our Pl. XLVI.
- B 119.** Fu. »史頌 The scribe Sung has made....». Kün 1/3: 62, ill. Chengts'iu 21, our Pl. L.
- B 120.** Ih. »The scribe Sung has made....». K'ia 16: 25, photo Shuangkien 21, our Pl. XLV. Also ill. Chengts'iu 53.
- B 121.*** P'an. »The scribe Sung has made....». K'ia 16: 12.

The name *shī* Sung connects B 114, 115, 119, 120, 121. That the Sung of B 116, 117, 118 was the same person as *shī* Sung is not *eo ipso* certain, since there is not the same title. But the script is absolutely identical and is probably from the same hand; moreover the date: »3rd year, 5th month» in both series is striking. They must belong together. The reasons given by Kuo Mo-jo for attributing this group to Kung wang's reign are very inadequate. We can only know from the script that it belongs to the second half of Western Chou.

B 122—B 138 have many connecting points in common as regards personal names, and since they all have the late script type (i. e. in the cases where this is ascertainable thanks to rubbings), they may be from approximately the same time.

B 122—B 128 form a group:

- B 122.** Ting. »In the 3rd month, 1st quarter, on the day kia-sü, the King was in K'ang wang's temple; 樂伯 Jung po entered and assisted 康 K'ang: I, K'ang, presume to signal the great illustrious grace of the Son of Heaven, and therefore have made my fine father 築伯 Li po's precious vessel;; 鄭井 Cheng Tsing.» Chungsung, Pu shang 14, Tahi 91, drawing Ningshou 1: 17, photo in set of picture postcards of the Peking Palace Museum.
- B 123.** Chung. 鄭井叔 Tsing shu from Cheng has made....». K'ia 1: 17, photo Shuangyü 2.
- B 124.** Chung. ».... may 壴 Ts'o and 蔡姬 Lady Ki of Ts'ai for ever treasure it; ... therefore make my fine father Li po's (as in 122)...». K'ia 2: 11; photo Senoku Betsu 10.
- B 125.** Chung. In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, Ts'o (as in 124) made the precious bell in order to show his piety to the deceased 己伯 Ki po; ... may Ts'o and the Lady Ki of Ts'ai (as in 124) for ever....». K'i 9: 11, photo Senoku Betsu 2.
- B 126.** Kuei (lid). »X has made Li po's (as in 122) precious vessel.» Photo Shuangkien 13.
- B 127.*** Sü. 鄭井叔康 Tsing shu K'ang of Cheng has made it.» Kün 2/2: 20.
- B 128.*** Li. 鄭井叔父 Tsing shu Huo-fu of Cheng has made....». Chungsung, Pu shang 16.

B 122, 123, 127, 128 are connected by the name Cheng Tsing shu; his personal name was K'ang, (122, 127) his *tsī*, honorary name, was Huo-fu (128); in 122 Cheng Tsing is placed in a very curious and unusual way as a signature after the inscription. His deceased father Li po (122) recurs in 124 and 126;

125 is connected with 124 through »Ts'o and the Lady Ki of Ts'ai». We have already earlier had a Tsing shu (B 40), but in a group with clearly early writing. Here we have a Tsing shu with just as clearly late script. They are obviously not the same person: »Third brother from Tsing» is a name which might well be repeated, just as 虢仲 Kuo chung »Second brother from Kuo» (cf. p. 51) and such-like. A Tsing shu, possibly a third personage, crops up in the group B 154—159 below.

B 129. Kuei. »In the 12th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-ch'ou, the King was in Tsung Chou, and went to the Great temple; 榮伯 Jung po assisted 同 T'ung . . . ; the King ordered T'ung to attend 吳大夫 Wu ta-fu . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven . . . ; . . . my fine father 惠仲 Huei chung.» Chengsung 6: 7, Tahi 92; drawing Sükia 6: 29.

B 130. Kuei. »In the King's 11th month, 2nd quarter, on the day ting-hai, 榮季 Jung ki entered and assisted 尔 Mao . . . ; 榮伯 Jung po called and ordered Mao and said . . . ; . . . to govern the temples of 莽 P'ang and the people of P'ang . . . ». K'i 4: 19, Tahi 91, drawing Huaimi, Hia 26.

We have placed this here with 129 because of the name Jung po, but with hesitation. It is not written by the same hand, and the script is neither early nor late, in fact very indifferent.

B 131—137 form a group:

B 131. Ting. »Ch'eng said: . . . my father 幽大叔 Yu T'ai-shu . . . ; 騩侯駁方 O-hou (the prince of O) Yü-fang led the Southern I Barbarians and the Eastern I Barbarians and grandly attacked the Southern countries and the Eastern countries . . . 武公 Wu kung has then (ordered) us . . . ». Tahi 105, drawing Po 2: 21.

B 132. Kuei. »O hou (the prince of O) made a bridal-gift vessel for Lady 姫 Ki, consort of the King . . . ». K'i 16: 24, Tahi 104; photo Wuying 75, our Pl. XL. That this O hou was the same as the preceding is of course very uncertain, and the vessel is placed here because of its late script type.

B 133. Kuei (lid). »In the 9th month, 1st quarter, on the day mou-shen, the prince said: 不娶駁方 Pu-k'i and Yü-fang (or: Pu-k'i Yü-fang), the Hien yün grandly attack 爰 Yü in the West; the King has ordered us . . . ; our august grandfather 公伯 Kung po and 孟姬 the Lady Eldest sister Ki . . . ». K'i 4: 30, Tahi 102, photo Mengwei, Shang 34, our Pl. XLI.

Kuo takes Pu-k'i to be the *tsī* honorary name and Yü-fang the ordinary personal name of one and the same person. Liu Sin-yüan, better, takes them to be two persons, Pu-k'i and Yü-fang (= O hou Yü-fang of B 131); that Yü-fang is the same person in both B 131 and 133 is very plausible: it is evidently a question of a prominent general. Kuo combines our inscr. 133 here with an entry in the Chu shu ki nien (*ap. Hou Han shu, Si K'iang chuan*) that Ih wang ordered the prince of Kuo to make an expedition to 爰泉 Yü-ts'üan, and dates the inscription accordingly, in identifying this Yü-ts'üan with the Yü of our inscription. But this is much too risky. Wu K'i-ch'ang, without sufficient reasons, dates it in Suan wang's time.

B 134. Kuei. »In the King's 10th month, the King was in Ch'eng Chou; the Huai I Barbarians of the South . . . entered and attacked . . . ; the King ordered 爻 Yü to

pursue them . . . ; . . . in the place of 榮伯 Jung po; 武公 Wu kung entered and assisted Yü . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven . . . ». Tahi 107, drawing Po 16: 36.

B 135.* Ting. The King made a war expedition to the South; . . . O hou Yü-fang (as in 131) presented . . . to the King . . . ». K'i 2: 7, Tahi 103.

B 136. Kuei. *叔向父禹 Shu Hiang-fu Yü said . . . ; my august grandfather 叔大叔 Yu T'ai-shu . . . ». K'ia 11: 9, Tahi 144.

In this group, B 131 (possibly with 132), 133 and 135 are connected by the name Yü-fang, prince of O. 134 is connected with 131 by the person Wu kung, all the more certain since in both it is a question of an expedition against the South. 136 is a generation later than 131: Yu T'ai-shu is called father in the former and grandfather in the latter.

B 137. Kuei. «In the 12th year, 3rd month, 2nd quarter, on the day ting-hai, the King was in the 嘉侯宮 X X temple; the King called 吳師 Wu shi to summon 大Ta . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven . . . ». Chengsung 6: 10, Tahi 93, drawing Sükia 12: 46, lid in Shan 8: 97.

B 138. Ting. «In the 15th year, 3rd month . . . on the day ting-hai, the King was in the X X temple (as in 137); 大 Ta with his friends kept guard; . . . the Son of Heaven . . . ; my illustrious father 己伯 Ki po . . . ». Chengsung 3: 35, Tahi 95, drawing Huai, Hia 9, also Kukien 2: 17, 19. The peculiar temple name concomitant with the personal name Ta connects 137 and 138.

As stated above, there are certain points which seem to connect the group B 122—128, the inscr. 129 and 130, the group 131—137 and the inscr. 138, 139 into one larger group of approximately the same period.

There is first the name Jung po, which occurs in B 122, 129, 130 and 134. This does not mean 'prince of Jung' but 'Eldest brother from Jung', since there is a Jung ki 'Youngest brother from Jung' in 130. There might, of course, be several Jung po (just like Kuo chung etc., see p. 51), but the late script type narrows the range and makes it more probable that it is one and the same person. There is further the Wu ta-fu of 129 and Wu Shi of 137. They are not necessarily the same person, but for the same reason it is quite likely that they are. And then, finally, there is the father Ki po both in 125 and 138. The coincidences are too many to be fortuitous. We thus obtain a comprehensive group B 122—138.

A reliable dating of this big group is hard to achieve, beyond the fact that it belongs to the second half of Western Chou. Yet there are certain indications which make it at least probable that it should be combined with the group B 78—86 above, of Kung wang's time.

In that group we have a prominent person, the *sī-ma* Tsing po 'Eldest brother from Tsing'; here we have Cheng Tsing shu 'Third brother from Tsing of Cheng' as an important personage. There we had a *nei-shī* Wu (吳), here we have a Wu ta-fu, a Wu Shi: it is quite possible that they are one and the same person. In B 88, in the reigns immediately after Kung wang, mention is made of a grandfather Li ki 'Youngest brother Li'; here we have a father Li po 'Eldest

brother Li'. In B 93, in the reigns immediately after Kung wang, there is a father Huei shu 'Third brother Huei'; here we have a father Huei chung 'Second brother Huei'. These indications are not conclusive, and therefore we have not dared to place our group here B 122—138 along with B 78—86, but they are highly suggestive, and the later part of the 10th century is at least very probable.

B 139. Kuei. »In the King's 1st year, 1st month, the King was in 吳 Wu (Yü?), and went to the Great temple of Wu (Yü?); . . . the King called the scribe X to give a brevet to 師酉 Shi Yu; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». K'i 4: 22, Tahi 95, drawing Lianglei 6: 10, also T'ao 2: 14.

Both Kuo and Wu take Wu to be the same as the person Wu in the preceding group, but that is very unlikely. It is here a place name. The script is of the late type.

B 140. Li. »杜伯 Tu po made the fine vessel of the Lady 叔婦 Third sister Yung.» Chengsung 4: 13, Tahi 173, drawing Shan 3: 25.

B 141.* Sü. »Tu po has made. . . ». Chengsung 6: 43, Tahi 172.

As pointed out by Kuo, Mo-tsī (Ming kuei p'ien) says: »Süan wang killed his minister Tu po.» If Tu po means 'the prince of Tu', then of course this cannot aid in dating inscr. 140, 141. If it means 'Eldest brother from Tu' and thus is more of a personal name, we can more easily accept Kuo's dating, which in any case is not conclusive. The script is late and would suit Süan wang's time quite well.

B 142. Ting. »In the 9th month, 3rd quarter, on the day kia-sü, the King went to the temple of Chou . . . ; 司徒南仲 the si-t'u Nan chung assisted 無惠 Wu-huei . ; the King called the scribe 爭 Yu to give a brevet to Wu-huei . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». K'i 2: 10, Tahi 168, drawing Tahi t'ulu 24, photo Burlington Art Magazine Sept. 1923, our Pl. XXXIV.

This is the famous tripod of the Silver Island. Chinese scholars have identified this Nan chung with the Nan chung of the ode Ch'ang wu in the Shī king (he was a minister of Süan wang's; Legge's translation and note are wrong), and dated it in Süan wang's time. This is too uncertain; yet the script is of the late type. Some authors think that 無 is a short-form for 鄭 Hü (= 許), others again read 專 Chuan instead of 惠 Huei. The question remains open.

B 143. Ting. »The King said: Father Yin, the great illustrious Wen wang and Wu wang . . . ; . . . the four regions (the whole country) are greatly ungoverned and turbulent; . . . 毛公夙 Yin, prince of Mao, has signalled the august grace of the Son of Heaven and made . . . ». K'i 2: 41, Tahi 148, our Pl. XXXIII. The vessel was found in Shensi.

This famous inscription of 497 characters unfortunately contains nothing which could give a really solid *point d'appui* for the dating. A long series of prominent scholars — a. o. Sü Tung-po, Wu Ta-ch'eng, Sun I-jang, Wang Kuo-wei, Wu K'i-ch'ang — have dated it in Ch'eng wang's time, but we are afraid that

this is principally because of a general feeling that such a magnificent, long inscription ought to be from the greatest days of the dynasty. Kuo Mo-jo on the contrary dates it late, in Suan wang's time, and his reasons seem to us to be quite convincing: the great days of the founders and their coadjutors are spoken of as relatively distant; there are various phrases referring to great disorder and disorganisation. To us it is obvious, from the script type, that the early part of the dynasty is excluded. The lines are very regular, the characters of equal size, well-balanced and neatly drawn, with gracefully curved lines — a typically advanced script; a comparison with the long inscriptions of the Nie Ling vessels (B 22—25 above) of Chao wang's time will at once convince us of a considerable difference of age. We have no hesitation in placing the vessel in the second half of Western Chou.

B 144. P'an. »In the 28th year, 5th month, 3rd quarter, on the day keng-yin, the King was in Chou, in K'ang wang's and Mu wang's temple; . . . the steward 倖 Kün assisted 虢 Huan . . . ; I, Huan, presume to signal the great illustrious grace of the Son of Heaven and have made the precious vessel of my august father 鄭伯 the prince of Cheng and the Lady 姫 Ki of Cheng.» K'i 18: 25, Tahi 170; drawing Tahi t'u 158.

B 145. Kuei. »The King said thus: 師 聖 Shi Huan . . . I order you to . . . make an expedition against the Huai I Barbarians. . . ». K'i 4: 25, Tahi 170, drawing T'ao 2: 12.

The script type in both these inscriptions is late. There is a vessel in Tch'ou VIII, IX with a similar inscription as B 144. The late script type does not at all tally with the early (Yin) type of the vessel, and it is obviously made in imitation of B 144. Kuo Mo-jo seems to be of the same opinion, for though he has made use of Tch'ou's work, he does not record this inscription.

B 146. Kuei. »大師 小子 望 The *t'ai-shi*, the little-one Shi Wang. . . ». K'ao 3: 38, drawing *ibid.*

B 147.* Ting. »The *t'ai-shi*, the little-one Shi Wang said: My great illustrious father . . . the Son of Heaven . . . ». K'ia 5: 7, Tahi 74.

B 148.* Hu. »The *t'ai-shi*, the little one Shi Wang has made . . . ». K'ia 14: 17.

The Chinese scholars generally take *siao tsii* to be an official's title. There is such an office mentioned in the Chou li; but since this office never occurs in other texts, and *siao tsii* is common in the inscriptions, we take it to be an ordinary expression of modesty. The script type in these inscriptions is late.

B 149. Kuei. »In the King's 1st month, on the day kia-wu, the King said: X, I order you to govern the people of Ch'eng Chou. . . ». Chengsung, Pu shang 27, Huei k'ao 16, drawing Shan 8: 88. Script of the late type.

B 150—152 form a group:

B 150. Kuei. »In the 11th month, 2nd quarter, on the day keng-sü, 鄭虢仲 Kuo chung from Cheng made. . . ». Chengsung 5: 32, Tahi 214, drawing Kukien 27: 28.

B 151. Kuei. »In the 3rd month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-wu, the King was in the 华 Hua temple; the King called Kuo chung to enter and assist 何 Ho . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven. . . ». Tahi 119; drawing Sü K'ao ku t'u 3: 25.

B 152. Sü. »Kuo chung with the King went on a war expedition to the South, and attacked the Huai I Barbarians of the South; when he was in Ch'eng Chou...». Chengsung 6: 41, Tahi 118, photo Shierkia 6: 11.

Kuo Mo-jo places B 152 among the Royal Chou vessels and B 150 among the vessels of the court of Cheng. Yet the hand is absolutely identical in both, and it must be the same Kuo chung.

Kuo dates B 152 in the reign of Li wang, because the Hou Han shu (Tung I chuan) has an entry that Li wang ordered Kuo chung to attack the Huai I Barbarians. It is true that, as pointed out by Wang Kuo-wei (Ku pen Chu shu ki nien tsi kiao) the Hou Han shu, in treating of the Barbarians of Chou time, builds entirely on Shi ki and Chu shu ki nien; and since this entry is not in the Shi ki, it very likely emanates from the Chu shu ki nien, a Chou time work. Yet the evidence is frail in the extreme. The name Kuo chung says nothing; there were many Kuo chung. One was a younger brother of Wu wang at the very beginning of the dynasty. One is mentioned in the Tso chuan in 704 B. C. How many Kuo chung 'Second brother from Kuo' there were in between we cannot know. We can date B 152, and with it B 150, in Western Chou time, since the kings of Eastern Chou never had the power of making any war expeditions against the South. And from the script type we can easily attribute them to the second half of the period. The Cheng in B 150, which has caused Kuo Mo-jo to place this inscription under the feudal Cheng, is easily explainable. There were several states Kuo, and one of them, Tung Kuo, was extinguished and incorporated by Cheng before the Ch'un ts'iu period. B 151 is added here tentatively. Even through the drawn reproduction of the inscription we can still discern that it is of the later script type, though not by the same hand as 150 and 152. The formula is such as is typical of Western Chou.

III. *Inscriptions from Western Chou generally (1122—771).*

In the preceding categories (I and II) we have registered such vessels as either from their content or their script type could be dated in the first or the second half of Western Chou. There remains a number of inscriptions which are clearly of Western Chou time but which cannot be attributed with any certainty to either of those categories: there are no safe historical *points d'appui*, and their script is too indifferent and neutral to allow of a decision.

B 153. P'an. »In the King's 11th month, 2nd quarter, on the day yi-wei, the King was in Chou....». Belonging to Mrs. Sedgwick, our Pl. XXV.

B 154—B 159 form a group:

B 154. Tsun. »In the 6th month, 1st quarter, the King was in Cheng; on the day ting-hai, the King went to the Great Room; 井叔 Tsing shu assisted 穀 Jung; ... the King ... ordered 史懋 the scribe Mou to give to Jung....». K'i 17: 15, Tahi 100, drawing Ningshou 3: 16.

B 155. P'an. In the 5th month, 1st quarter, the King was in Chou; he ordered to

make a brevet, and the *nei-shī* gave Jung...». Kün 2/3: 74, Tahi 99. This P'an (also called Ho) has belonged to Yüan Yüan, the famous author of the *Tsi ku chai chung ting i k'i k'uan chī*, and now belongs to the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. Our Pl. XXV.

- B 156.** Tsun. »In the 3rd month, 1st quarter, on the day yi-mao, the King was in Chou, and went to the Great Room; 咸 when all was ready, Tsing shu assisted X...». K'i 5: 14, Tahi 89, drawing Heng 50.
- B 157.*** Kuei. »In the 12th month, 1st quarter, the King was in Chou; ... Tsing shu assisted Jung...». K'i 16: 32, Tahi 97.
- B 158.*** Hu. »In the 8th month, 4th quarter, on the day mou-yin, the King was in P'ang king...; himself he ordered the scribe Mou (as in 154)...». K'a 14: 13, Tahi 100.
- B 159.*** Fu. »In the 3rd month, 2nd quarter, on the day yi-mao, the King was in Chou; he ordered Jung to be *sī-t'u* and to govern Cheng.» K'i 17: 23, Tahi 97; K'i 4: 3 mentions a Kuei with the same inscription.

In B 156 some authors, a. o. Kuo and Wu, take 咸 to be an abbreviation for 咸林 Hien lin, original name of a place in Cheng (Cheng Hüan, Shī pu, see Shī san king chu su, Shī king, introd.); yet on the one hand, it is doubtful whether 咸 should not be 械 (cf. Chavannes Mém. Hist. IV: 449), on the other hand, such an abbreviation is very unlikely.

B 154 and 157 have both Tsing shu and Jung and must belong together; with those 158 is connected by Shī Mou. Tsing shu reverts in 156, Jung in 155 and 159. If we combine the latter vessels with the former, it is because of the script hand, which is very similar in them all. There was a *shī* Jung 'scribe Jung' in B 108 above, who was evidently another person (the script there being of a later type). And there are also various Tsing shu 'Third brother from Tsing' just as there are various Kuo chung 'Second brother from Kuo' (cf. p. 51 above). One Tsing shu occurs in B 40, in a group of clearly early vessels (Mu wang's time). Another Tsing shu from Cheng occurs in B 122 ff. in a series of equally clearly late vessels; his full name was Tsing shu K'ang (*tsī* Huo-fu). Mu t'ien tsī chuan tells us of yet another: Cheng Tsing shu 利 Li. In the present group we have a Tsing shu again, and if it is not simply a third person of the same name, it is difficult to tell with which of them this series should be connected. That we have here some references to Cheng (154, 159) tells us nothing, for Tsing was situated in Cheng (Cheng was a district in Shensi in existence long before it was given in fief to a son of Li wang). The script is very indifferent, but its stiff form speaks rather of an earlier date than that of Tsing shu K'ang (B 122 ff.).

H. Maspero (J. As. 1927 p. 132) considers B 154 and B 155 to be spurious; his reasons are ingenious but not valid. In the first place he has built his whole argumentation on a date *ting-mao* in B 154, but this is erroneous: the inscription has *ting-hai*. In the second place it is easily seen that a forger, who had made B 155 after the pattern of 159 (which Maspero means), would not have omitted the cyclical characters of the day, 159 having such characters.

B 160. Kuei. »In the 6th month, 1st quarter, the King was in P'ang king; on the day ting-mao the King ordered 靜 Tsing . . . ; I, Tsing, presume to salute and bow down the head and to signal the great illustrious grace of the Son of Heaven. . . . K'ia 11: 5, Tahi 146, drawing Kukien 27: 14.

B 161. Yu. »In the 4th month, 1st quarter, on the day ping-yin, the King was in P'ang king; the King gave Tsing a bow. . . . Chengsung 8: 30, Tahi 147, drawing Kukien 15: 20.

These two inscriptions both have P'ang king and Tsing, and belong together. The Yu 161 agrees in type and decoration so exactly with the Kuei 160 that they must be from the same artisan. Shan 4: 35 has a Yu with the same inscription as 161, but of a quite different type; is it a forgery?

Because the Shī ki (Chou pen ki) says that Sūan wang's personal name was 靜 Tsing, Kuo Mo-jo thinks that these vessels were made when he was crown-prince! This cannot be taken seriously.

B 162. Hien. »井 伯 Tsing po made. . . . Chengsung, Pu shang 17, photo Senoku I: 14.

We had a *sī-ma* Tsing po 'Eldest brother from Tsing' in group B 78—86 above. Here is another person: the script is here more stiff and primitive and certainly considerably earlier.

B 163. Yu. »井 季 伯 Tsing ki Shī has made. . . . K'i 6: 8, photo Senoku II: 67, our Pl. XXIV, also drawing Kukien 16: 8.

B 164. Tsun. Same inscription as B 163. Chengsung 9: 28, drawing Ningshou 3: 23.

B 165.* Ting. Same inscription as B 163. Chengsung 2: 32.

B 166. Kuei. »季 伯 Ki Shī (?) made his fine father 井 叔 Tsing shu's vessel. . . . Chengsung 4: 47; drawing Kukien 13: 29.

Earlier we have had several Tsing po 'Eldest brother from Tsing' and Tsing shu 'Third brother from Tsing'. Here in B 163—165 we have Tsing ki 'Youngest brother from Tsing'. It is possible that the name of B 166 is but a variant of that of 163; in any case it belongs to the Tsing series, since the father was a Tsing shu.

We have placed all these vessels (162—166) here among the Royal Chou vessels, for we have seen earlier that the family from Tsing played such an important part in the Royal court.

B 167. Kuei. »In the King's 3rd month, 1st quarter, on the day sin-mao, 簪 叔 Hien shu attended at the sacrifice in the Great temple . . . ; he signalled the grace of the Son of Heaven. . . . Tch'ou XII, photo *ibid.*, our Pl. XV.

B 168. Ting. »In the 10th month there was an envoy in 鄭 Tseng; . . . in Ch'eng Chou. . . . Kün 2/3: 36, drawing Shan 2: 73.

B 169. Sü. » . . . X saluted and bowed down the head and signalled the great illustrious fine grace of the Son of Heaven . . . ; may 叔 邦 父 Shu Pang-fu and 叔 姬 the Lady Third sister Ki² have ten thousand years. . . . Tahi 157, drawing K'ao 3: 34.

B 170. Fu. »Shu Pang-fu has made. . . . Po 18: 7, drawing *ibid.*

B 171. Kuei. »In the 6th month, 2nd quarter, 穆 穆 王 the very august King was in P'ang king. . . . 迺 Yü saluted and bowed down the head. . . . Chengsung 6: 3, drawing Shan 8: 86.

Kuo Mo-jo thinks that this is a dated vessel: there is Mu wang! He has, however, not observed the reduplication mark: the inscription runs, not »Mu wang tsai P'ang king» but »Mu mu wang tsai P'ang king» — which makes all the difference in the world. We know of a Mu wang, but of no Mu-mu wang. Mu-mu is a common honorific. On the Shī Wang ting (B 147) it is said of the father of Wang: *Mu mu k'o ming küe sin* »Very august he could make his mind illuminated». And the Ta K'o ting (B 87 above) begins: »K'o said: *mu mu chen huang tsu Shī Hua-fu* very august was my grandfather Shī Hua-fu». So our vessel here has nothing whatever to do with Mu wang.

B 172—174 form a group:

B 172. Kuei. »In the 4th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-mao, the King reviewed the merits of 爭 Yu, and gave three oxen; . . . Yu signals the grace of the King. . . ». K'i; 4: 4, drawing Kukien 27: 1.

B 173. Kuei. »In the King's 3rd year, 4th month, 2nd quarter, on the day sin-yu, the King was in Chou, and sojourned in the *Sin kung* New temple; the King called Shī Chen to give 師 達 Shī Kü cowries . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven . . . ». K'i 4: 7, Tahi 78; drawing Heng 39, also P'anku, Hia 33.

B 174.* Yi. »In the 1st month, 2nd quarter, on the day ting-yu, the King was in Chou, in the Inner chamber of K'ang wang's temple; Shī Kü reviewed the merits of 爭 Yu; the steward 利 Li gave Shī Kü . . . ; . . . the Son of Heaven . . . ». K'ia 13: 9, Tahi 79.

B 173 and 174 are connected by the person Shī Kü; Yu must be the same in 172 and 174, since their script is of the same hand. There is a *scribe Yu (same character as 172, 174) in the Wu-huei Ting (B 142), but we cannot know whether it is the same person, for the script is not similar. For the same reason we dare not identify the Li of 174 with the Li of B 85 above.

B 175. Tsun (Hu). »In the 16th year, 7th month, 2nd quarter, on the day yi-wei, 伯 大師 Po T'ai-shi gave 伯 克 Po K'o 30 servants; Po K'o presumes to signal the grace of 天 君 王 伯 the Heavenly chief, the Royal Po (Eldest brother) . . . ». Tahi 108, drawing Po 6: 33.

The T'ai-shi Po was, it seems, a Royal prince. Kuo identifies Po K'o with the K'o of the K'o chung (B 96), but there is really no support for this.

B 176. Ting. »In the King's 23rd year, 9th month, the King was in Tsung Chou; the King ordered Wei Lüan. . . ». Tahi 129, drawing Sü K'ao ku t'u 4: 19.

B 177. Kuei. »My great illustrious august grandfather . . . ; . . . 番 生 Fan-sheng presumes to respond to the grace of the Son of Heaven. . . ». Tahi 142, drawing T'ao 2: 16.

Kuo easily identifies this Fan-sheng with the Fan of the ode Shī yüe chī kiao: Fan wei sī-t'u »Fan was sī-t'u»!

B 178. Kuei. »In the 6th month, 2nd quarter, on the day sin-sī, the King ordered 父 Man and . . . ; . . . 吳 姮 the Lady Ki of Wu (Yü) . . . ; Man signals the grace of the Son of Heaven. . . ». Chengsung 6: 2, Shan 8: 84.

Wu K'i-ch'ang places this vessel in the 43rd year of Chao wang: Mu wang

had the personal name 滿 Man, and the Man of our vessel was Mu wang when crown prince!

- B 179.** Kuei. »In the 6th year, 1st quarter, on the day ting-si, the King was in Cheng; he reviewed the merits of 虍 Nie. . . ». Sükia 12: 40, drawing *ibid*. The formula is typical of Western Chou.
- B 180.** Ting. »In the 5th month, 3rd quarter, the King was in 鄭 宮 the ancestral temple of Shí Ts'in . . . ; the Son of Heaven. . . ». Po 3: 31, drawing *ibid*.
- B 181.** Ting. »In the 14th month, 4th quarter, the King was in 下 ○ Hia-x 公 the prince of Yung. . . ». Po 2: 29, drawing *ibid*. The same K'ao 1: 9. Hia-x has probably to be filled out into 下 郡 Hia-tu, one of the Honan residences.
- B 182.** Kuei lid. »~~也~~ Chuei reverently morning and evening . . . ; the Son of Heaven has largely bestowed grace on Chuei. . . ». K'i 16: 33, drawing Huaimi, Hia 25. Ku-kien 27: 18 gives a Kuei and Sükia 5: 15 gives a Hu with the same inscription. These are in all probability spurious, as shown by the style of the vessels (the Hu in Huai style, the Kuei a *mixtum compositum*).

IV. Not illustrated inscriptions from Western Chou.

We add here some more inscriptions which belong to the Western Chou period; since we have no access to illustrations of the vessels, they are of less importance to the present study, and we record them still more briefly than those given above.

- B 183.** Kuei. » . . . deceased father Wen wang. . . ». K'i 4: 11, Tahi 1 (spurious?).
- B 184.** Chi. » . . . vanquished 商 Shang, . . . Chou kung. . . ». Cheng 9: 29, Tahi 3 (spurious?).
- B 185.** Kuei. » . . . Wen and Wu. . . ». K'ia 11: 23, Tahi 42.
- B 186.** Kuei. » . . . Tsung Chou. . . ». Chengsung, Pu shang 26.
- B 187.** Ting. » . . . K'ang wang's temple. . . ». K'i 16: 14, Tahi 25.
- B 188.** Kuei. » . . . Tsung Chou. . . ». Kün 2/3: 10.
- B 189.** Ting. » . . . 11th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai . . . Tsung Chou. . . ». Kün 3/2: 49.
- B 190.** Ting. » . . . P'ang king. . . ». Chengsung 3: 16.
- B 191.** Chung. » . . . the King . . . Chou. . . ». Kün 3/1: 30.
- B 192.** Yi. » . . . followed the King . . . attack 楚 荆 Ch'u King ». T'u shu kuan kuan k'an, 6: 5, p. 40.
- B 193.** Kuei. » In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day yi-hai . . . K'ang wang's temple. . . ». K'i 4: 1, Tahi 49.
- B 194.** Ting. » In the 5th month, 4th quarter, on the day jen-sü . . . the King . . . in the Great Room. . . ». Chengsung 3: 27, Tahi 49.
- B 195.** Ting. » . . . sacrificed to 邵 王 Chao wang. . . ». K'ia 4: 21, Tahi 50.
- B 196.** Kuei. » . . . Chao wang's. . . ». K'ia 9: 3.
- B 197.** Yu. » In the 4th month, 1st quarter, on the day kia-wu, 懿 Yi wang was. . . ». Kün 3/1: 32, Tahi 77.
- B 198.** P'an. » In the 20th year, 1st month, 3rd quarter, on the day kia-sü . . . in Chou, in K'ang wang's temple. . . ». Chengsung 10: 30, Tahi 169.
- B 199.** Yi. » In the 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the King was in Chou, in Ch'eng ta shi the Great Room of Ch'eng wang's temple. . . 吳 Wu entered. . . ». K'i 5: 19, Tahi 62. Nothing says that this Wu is the same as in B 82 or in B 129.

- B 200.** Kuei. »In the 1st year, 3rd quarter, on the day ting-hai, the King went to the temple . . . the steward **召** Hu . . . the lady Kiang . . . Son of Heaven. . . ». Sie Shang-kung 14: 9, Tahi 86. Nothing says that this Hu was the same as in B 40, in B 96 or in B 103.
- B 201.** Kuei. »In the 5th month, 4th quarter, on the day sin-wei, the King sent . . . envoy to the I Barbarians, . . . Son of Heaven. . . ». K'i 4: 2.
- B 202.** Kuei. »In the 13th year, 6th month, 1st quarter, on the day mou-sü, . . . Chou . . . K'ang wang's temple, . . . 王 Wang. . . ». Kün 3/1: 83, Tahi 73. Nothing says that this Wang was the same as in B 146.
- B 203.** Ting. » . . . P'ang king. . . ». Chengsung 3: 23.
- B 204.** Kuei. »The great illustrious Wen and Wu . . . grace of the Son of Heaven. . . ». Sie Shang-kung 14: 14, Tahi 155.
- B 205.** P'an. In the 5th year, 3rd month, 4th quarter, on the day keng-yin, . . . King . . . attacked the Hien-yün . . . Ch'eng Chou . . . Southern I Barbarians. . . ». K'i 8: 19, Tahi 160.
- B 206.** Kuei. »In the 5th month, 3rd quarter . . . Ch'eng Chou. . . ». K'i 16: 31.
- B 207.** Yi. »In the 10th month, 1st quarter, on the day sin-si . . . P'ang king. . . ». K'i 5: 17.
- B 208.** Ting. » . . . Tsung Chou. . . ». K'ia 5: 10, Tahi 147.
- B 209.** Yi. » . . . P'ang king . . . 靜 Tsing . . . Son of Heaven. . . ». K'i 17: 17, Tahi 147. Nothing says that this Tsing was the same as in B 160.
- B 210.** Ting. »In the 3rd year, 4th month, on the day keng-wu, the King was in 豐 Feng. . . ». Siao-t'ang 2: 98.

C. BRONZES OF THE FEUDAL COURTS.

I. *Illustrated bronzes.*

Here are recorded the inscriptions which are accessible in catalogues giving illustrations also of the vessels. A few inscriptions without such illustrations (then marked by an asterisk) are added, when they bear upon the same persons or events as the illustrated ones.

Ch'en 陳 (陳).

This state, situated in Ch'en-chou-fu, East Central Honan, was extinguished by Ch'u in 478 B. C., so C 1, 2, 3, 5 must be anterior to that date.

- C 1.** Fu. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the prince of Ch'en made for 孟姜 the Lady Eldest sister Kiang. . . ». K'ia 15: 5, Tahi 219; photo Meng-wei, Sü 15, our Pl. XLII, also drawing Kukien 29: 5.
- C 2.** Fu. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the prince of Ch'en made for 王仲姬 the consort of the King, the Lady Second sister Kuei¹. . . ». Chengsung, Sü chung 1, drawing Shan 9: 8, 9: 9 (two vessels).
- C 3.** Kuei. »The prince of Ch'en made for the Lady 嘉姬 Kia Ki¹. . . ». K'ia 9: 6, drawing Süchia 6: 24.
- C 4.** Ting. »Sheng-X of Ch'en made. . . ». Chengsung 2: 46, photo Wuying 26, our Pl. XXXVI.

- C 5. Ih. »伯 元 Po-Yüan, son of the prince of Ch'en, made for Lady Eldest sister Kuei¹. . . ». Chengsung 10: 39, Tahi 218, drawing Kukien 30: 5, our Pl. LVI. Kuo identifies Po Yüan with the prince 完 Wan, son of Li kung (706—700); this is a mere guess.

Cheng 鄭 (奠).

This state, situated in Sin-Cheng-hien of Cheng-chou, Central Honan, was extinguished by Han² in 375 B. C., so C 6 and 6a must be anterior to that date.

- C 6. Fu. »The t'ai-sü-kung 召叔山父 Shao shu Shan fu of the prince of Cheng made. . . ». Chengsung 6: 34, Tahi 215; drawing Ningshou 11: 24.

- C 6a. Li. »The prince of Cheng, son of X-tsi, made. . . ». Photo Shierkia 12: 8.

- C 7. Kuei. »In the 10th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-mao, the King ordered 仲子紳 Chung-tsi Shen of Cheng to attack. . . ». Shan 8: 78, drawing *ibid*.

- C 8. Li. »羊 伯 Yang po of Cheng made for 季姜 the Lady Youngest sister Kiang. ». Kün 2/1: 74; photo Mengwei, Shang 16, our Pl. XXXVII.

- C 9. Kuei. »義 伯 I po of Cheng made. . . ». Photo Wuying 81.

- C 10. Ih. »I po of Cheng (as C 9) made for the Lady Youngest sister Kiang (as C 8). . . ». Chengsung 10: 33, drawing Kukien 32: 4.

- C 11. Sü. »義 羊 父 I Yang-fu of Cheng made. . . ». K'i 17: 31, photo Mengwei, Shang 17.

- C 12. Kuei. »襄 原 父 Yung Yüan-fu of Cheng made. . . ». Chengsung 4: 44, drawing Shan 8: 42.

- C 13.* Ting. »Yung Yüan-fu of Cheng. . . ». K'ia 5: 20.

- C 14. Hien. »伯 高 父 Po Kao-fu of the house of Cheng made. . . ». K'ia 17: 4; drawing Shan 3: 37, our Pl. XLIX.

- C 15. Li. »In the 5th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-yu, 師 父 Shi X-fu of Cheng made. . . ». Sükia 14: 3, drawing *ibid*.

- C 16. Hu. »𠀤 叔 寶 父 Mou shu Pin-fu of Cheng made. . . ». K'ia 14: 4, Tahi 216; drawing Heng 55, also P'anku, Hia 21.

- C 17. Ting. »伯 燕 父 Po Tao-fu of Cheng made. . . ». Shan 2: 69, drawing *ibid*.

Ch'i 崔, 倏, 遷.

That Ch'i (we read it so because of the third script variant) was a feudal state follows from C 18, 19 and C 210 below, which show marriage alliances with other feudal courts. Its situation cannot be determined.

- C 18. Ting. I, 伯 𩦙 父 Po Kün-fu, have made for my august father the prince of Ch'i and 吳 姫 the Lady Ki¹ of Wu (Yü). . . ». Kün 2/3: 20; drawing Huaimi, Hia 6, also Lianglei 3: 7.

- C 19. Kuei. »I, Po Kün-fu, have made for my august father 𩦙 伯 the prince of Ch'i and the Lady Ki¹ of Wu (Yü). . . ». Sükia 12: 49, drawing *ibid*.

Chou 周.

We place here vessels bearing the names of persons from Chou — they may equally well be of Eastern Chou as of Western Chou time, and therefore cannot be placed in cat. B above.

- C 20. Yu. »In the 9th month, 2nd quarter, on the day yi-hai, X of Chou cast. . . ». Ningshou 7: 4; drawing *ibid*.

- C 21. P'an. »棘 生 Ki sheng of Chou made for 女 the Lady Yün. . . ». Chengsung 10: 28, photo Paoyün 79, also drawing Süyi 15: 7.

C 22.* Kuei. Same inscription as C 21. K'i 3: 15.

C 23. Hu. »**‡** Cha of Chou made...». K'i 6: 30; drawing Kukien 19: 11, Sükia 5: 22; the lid is now in the National Museum of Stockholm.

Chu¹ 鄭 (鄭).

There were two states Chu¹: Chu¹ and Siao Chu¹ (Little Chu); one was in Tsou-hien, one in T'eng-hien, both of Yen-chou-fu, Southern Shantung. Both had the princely family Ts'ao. According to Tu Yü (Shi tsu p'u), Chu¹ was extinguished 6 generations and Little Chu¹ 8 generations after the year 481.

C 24. Chung. »The descendant of **陸** **○** Lu-X, prince X of Chu¹...». K'ia 1: 21, Kuo 228, drawing T'ao 1: 15, our Pl. LVIII.

Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan t'ang tsi lin 18) adduces the Ti hi p'ien of the Ta Tai li, where it is said that the first ancestor of the clan 曹 Ts'ao was a certain **陸終** Lu Chung. Now the house of Chu¹ had the clan name Ts'ao, and so the Lu-X of our inscription must be Lu Chung. This is quite plausible. Kuo Mo-jo's endeavour to identify the name of the prince here is, on the contrary, quite impossible.

C 25. Chung. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day yi-hai, prince **嬴** K'eng of Chu¹ made...». Cheng 1: 16, Kuo 226; drawing Huaimi, Hia 2, and T'ao 1: 16, our Pl. LVIII, and Lianglei 3: 4.

Prince K'eng of Chu¹ (Süan kung) died in 556 B. C., see Ch'un ts'iu, Siang 17th year.

C 25 a. Li. »The prince of Chu¹ made...». K'ia 17: 8, photo Shierkia 3: 3.

C 26. Chung. »The **大宰** *t'ai-tsai* of Chu¹...». Sükia 17: 24, drawing *ibid.*

Chu⁴ 鐸.

The state Chu⁴ was situated in Fei-ch'eng-hien of T'ai-an-fu, Western Shantung; or, according to others, in Ning-yang-hien of Yen-chou-fu, South Western Shantung.

C 27. Fu. »The prince of Chu⁴ made for **孟妊** the Lady Eldest sister Jen...». Cheng-sung 6: 31, Tahi 242; drawing Kukien 29: 3, 29: 4 (two vessels).

C 27 a. Fu. »**子叔黑頤** Tsí shu Hei-i of Chu⁴ made...». Chengsung 6: 29, photo Shierkia 6: 9. Found in Sin-ch'eng of Tsi-nan-fu, Shantung.

C 27 b, c.* Ting, Chengsung 3: 10, Tahi 243; Sü, Chengsung 6: 39; both with the same inscription as C 27 a.

Ch'u 楚.

The state Ch'u was situated first in Tan-yang, of I-ch'ang-fu, Western Hupei, from 689 in King-chou-fu, Central Hupei, from 515 there was a period of residence in I-ch'eng-hien of Siang-yang-fu, Northern Hupei; in 278 the residence was removed to Ch'en-chou, East Central Honan, and in 241 to Shou-chou, North Western Anhuei.

C 28. Chung (Po). »In the 8th month, on the day kia-shen, prince **逆** I of Ch'u himself made...». K'i 18: 28, Tahi 191; photo Mengwei, Shang 2.

This bell was found in Sung time in Kia-yü-hien near Wu-ch'ang (Chao Ming-ch'eng, Kin shi lu). Sun I-jang has identified 道 I with the prince 穎 O, who is mentioned in the Shih ki, Ch'u shi-kia, as having reigned in Ch'u 799—791 B. C. The ancient sounds of I (*ngipk*) and O (*ngâk*) make this possible, but it remains a guess.

C 29. Fu. »In the 8th month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-shen, prince X of Ch'u cast...». Chengsung, Sü chung 1, Tahi 193; drawing T'ao 2: 44, 45, our Pl. LVII.

C 30. Chung. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the king of Ch'u made a bridal vessel for 仲 媚 the Lady Second sister Mi of Kiang...». 芈 Mi was the clan name of the house of Ch'u; our Mi here must be a variant of that. Tahi 196, drawing K'ao 7: 12.

C 31. Chung. Same inscription as C 30. Drawing Shan 1: 12.

C 32. Urn. »The prince of Ch'u made...». Shan 3: 41, drawing *ibid.*

C 33. Ting. »King 金 恽 Yin Han of Ch'u took as booty in war metal for weapons...». Kuo Mo-jo, Hueik'ao sü, photo *ibid.*, better in Shierkia 1: 2.

That 金 Yin of the inscriptions is equal to 熊 Hiung of the literary sources, the first syllable in the names of various princes of Ch'u, is absolutely certain. 熊 was an arch. *g'ium*. 金 has several dictionary readings, corresponding to arch. *'iem*, *χem* etc. Kuo Mo-jo is decidedly right in identifying the prince here as 熊 恽 Hiung Han of the Shi ki, i. e. Yu wang (237—228 B. C.). This vessel was found in Shou ch'un, Shou-hien, in Anhuei, the capital of Ch'u from 241 B. C. A P'an (plain, with no distinctive features) with the same inscription is given in photo Shierkia 10: 25.

C 33 a. Fu. »King Yin (=Hiung) 肯 (?) X of Ch'u made...». 3 vessels, photo Shierkia 10: 18 ff. Kuo, Hueik'ao sü 38, mentions a Ting with the same inscription; the decoration there illustrated is a Huai pattern.

A lively discussion has been carried on regarding the identification of this king (Kuo Mo-jo, T'ang Lan, Liu Tsie, Shang Ch'eng-tso) but so far with no reliable result.

C 34. Set of Chung. »Prince X of Ch'u himself has made...». K'i 9: 5; photos Senoku Betsu 5—7, our Pl. XLVIII; Tch'ou XXIII, our Pl. LV; drawing T'ao 1: 17, our Pl. LI.

C 35. Tray. »王 子 申 The King's son Shen made for 嘉 媚 the Lady Kia Mi...». K'i 18: 23, Tahi 197; drawing Lianglei 8: 1 our Pl. LVII.

That this is a vessel from Ch'u is proved by the ductus of the script and the Ch'u clan name Mi. Yüan Yüan identifies this Shen with 公子申 Kung tsî Shen, *alias* 子西 Tsî Si, son of P'ing wang of Ch'u (528—516 B. C.), but there was also a kung-tsî Shen who was killed in 571 B. C. (Ch'un ts'iu, Siang 2nd year), and no safe identification is possible. That the vessel is from the 6th century seems certain.

C 36. Tray. »Vessel of 王 子 墾 次 the King's son Ying-ts'i». Chengsung 11: 3, Tahi 216; photo in Ch'uan ku pie lu (publication about the Sin-Cheng finds).

This vessel was among the famous Sin-Cheng finds, and its inscription has been discussed by several authors. There can be no doubt that Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan

t'ang tsi lin 18) is right in identifying Ying-ts'i here with the common name 婴齊 Ying-ts'i. Wang holds that the Ying-ts'i of this inscription is the Ying-ts'i, alias 子重 Ts'i Chung of Ch'u who was a younger brother of Chuang wang of Ch'u, and that the vessel was left behind in Cheng after the great battle of Yen-ling (575 B. C.), when the army of Ch'u had to escape by night. Kuo Mo-jo, on the contrary, thinks that it is the 鄭子 Cheng-ts'i in Cheng, who ascended the throne in 693, and who is called 子嬰 Ts'i Ying by Si-ma Ts'ien, but 婴齊 Ying-ts'i by Pan Ku (Ku kin jen piao). This is very ingenious, for it would explain the appearance of this vessel in Sin-Cheng. But there are the difficulties of the term *wang ts'i* 'king's son', and of the decidedly Southern type of the script. Both facts point to a Ch'u origin, so we incline to accept Wang Kuo-wei's view.

C 37. Chung. »益公 I kung made for the house of Ch'u...». Kün 2/1: 1, drawing Ch'angan 1: 1.

C 38. Hu. »In the King's 26th year 聖達之夫人曾姬 the consort of Sheng Huan, the Lady Tseng Ki¹...». Hueik'ao sü, drawing Shan 4: 54, 4: 55 (two vessels).

The vessels were found in Shou-chou, and the script type is that of Ch'u. So the vessels must be attributed to the Ch'u group. The date »the King's 26th year» must refer to a Ch'u reign; it is practically excluded that Ch'u would date by the years of the Chou king. Since neither Yu wang of Ch'u (237—228) nor K'ao-lie wang (262—238) had as many as 26 years, the vessel cannot be later than 275 B. C. (26th year of K'ing-siang wang), but very well earlier.

C 39. Ih. »In the King's 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-wu, Hiung of Ch'u made...». Our Pl. XLV. Cf. Yetts, Burlington Art Magazine 1930, 2; the vessel belongs to Mrs. Sedgwick.

C 40. P'an. Same inscription as C 39, our Pl. XLIV. Belongs to Mrs. Sedgwick.

Han² 韓.

The residence of this Han² at the time of C 41 was in Huai-k'ing-fu, North Western Honan.

C 41. Set of Chung. The Piao bells. This is the famous set of 14 bells, 12 of which are reproduced by drawings in Shan 1: 24—35, and by photos in Sü Chung-shu, Piao shi pien chung t'u shi. Cf. my article »On the date of the Piao bells» BMFEA VI. The bells are dated 550 B. C.

Han¹ 塞.

This state Han¹ was situated in Wei-hien of Lai-chou-fu, Eastern Shantung. It is said to have existed already before Chou time (Tso chuan, Siang 4). That it was a feudal state in Chou as well follows from the clan name Si.

C 42. Ting. »... the scribe... X made for 塞姒 the Lady Si of Han¹...». Kün 2/2: 80, ill. Chengts'iu 7.

Hi 戲.

The state Hi was situated in Cheng-chou, Central Honan.

C 43. Li. »The prince of Hi made...». Kün 2/2: 10, photo Senoku I: 8.

Huang 黃.

This state was situated in Kuang-chou, South Eastern Honan; it was extinguished by Ch'u in 648 B. C.

- C 44. Ting. »The scion of the house of Huang, the Lord of X 叔單 Shu Tan, himself made...». Kün 2/3: 1, Tahi 202; photo Paoyün 23, also drawing Süyi 1: 24. The wording seems to indicate that the vessel was made after the extinction in 648.

Hü 虞 (= 許).

This state was situated first in Hü-chou-fu, Central Honan, then, from 576, in Shê-hien of Nan-yang-fu, South Western Honan. Revived after a first extinction in 504, Hü still existed at the end of the Ch'un ts'iu period 481 B. C. It is not known at which time afterwards it was extinguished by Ch'u.

- C 45. Chung. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, prince X of Hü...». Kuo 208, drawing K'ao 7: 7.

- C 46. Fu. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, prince X of Hü...». K'i 5: 26, Tahi 208, drawing Shan 9: 10, our Pl. LVII.

Jo 篤 (若).

This state was situated between Si-ch'uan and Nei-hing of Nan-yang-fu, South Western Honan. Ch'u moved its capital to Jo in 504 B. C., so at that time the state Jo was already extinguished. C 47—49 must be anterior to that date.

- C 47. Chung. »Prince 爻 O Wu-X of Jo...». Chengsung 1: 5, drawing Shan 1: 14.

- C 48*. Kuei. »In the 2nd month of Jo, 1st quarter, on the day yi-ch'ou, prince 爻人 Wu-jen of Jo made...». Kün 3/1: 23, Tahi 198.

- C 49. Hien. »The prince of Jo made...». Shan 3: 36, drawing *ibid.*

- C 50. Ting. »The mother from Jo made...». K'ia 12: 2, drawing Ch'angan 1: 4.

Juei 蕤 (內).

This is always written 內, and it might seem doubtful whether 內 公 does really mean 蕤 公 'the prince of Juei'. But this is confirmed by C 60 ff. 內 大子 which must mean 'the Crown prince of Juei', and by C 230 below: 內 子 仲 Tsî-chung from Juei, where 內 (芮) is clearly the name of a country. Juei was situated in Ch'ao-i of T'eng-chou-fu, East Central Shensi. It was extinguished by Ts'in in 640 B. C., according to the Shî ki, so the vessels C 51—64 must all be anterior to that date.

- C 51. Chung. »The prince of Juei made...». Ningshou 14: 4, drawing *ibid.*

- C 52. Chung. »The prince of Juei made...». Chengsung, Sü shang 1, drawing Kukien 36: 6.

- C 53. Ting. »The prince of Juei made...». Chengsung, Sü shang 21, drawing Kukien 2: 8.

- C 54. Ting. »The prince of Juei made...». K'ia 6: 5, drawing Kukien 3: 19.

- C 55. Li. »The prince of Juei cast for the Consort of the house of King, 叔姬 the Lady Third sister Ki¹...». K'ia 17: 10, drawing Heng 96, our Pl. L, also drawing Kukien 31: 1.

- C 56. Kuei. »The prince of Juei made...». Chengsung 5: 13, drawing Kukien 27: 8, 27: 9 (two vessels).

- C 57. Hu. »The prince of Juei made...». Chengsung 7: 28, drawing Kukien 19: 5.
 C 58. Fu. »The prince of Juei made...». K'ao 3: 40, drawing *ibid.*
 C 59. Hu. »The prince of Juei made for 築公 Li kung...». T'ao 3: 1, drawing *ibid.*; photo Shū Kan 15.
 C 60. Ting. »內大子白 the Crown prince Po of Juei made...». Kukien 2: 24, drawing *ibid.*
 C 61. Hu. »The Crown prince Po of Juei made...». Wuying 102, photo *ibid.*
 C 62. Hu. »The Crown prince Po of Juei made...». Sükia 8: 41, drawing *ibid.*
 C 63. Fu. »The Crown prince Po of Juei made...». Kün 2/2: 11, drawing Lianglei, 7: 9.
 C 64. Ting. »The crown prince of Juei made...». Shuangkien 8, photo *ibid.*, our Pl. XXXIV.

Kao 部.

This was a state given in fief to a son of Wen wang, situated in Ch'eng-wu-hien of Ts'ao-chou-fu, Western Shantung; since, however, there were also, in feudal times, two cities with the same name, one in Sung and one in Tsin, we cannot be quite certain of the origin of C 65.

- C 65. Ting. »史碩父 the scribe Shi-fu og Kao made...». Chengsung 3: 16, drawing Shan 2: 70.

Ki 紀 (己).

The name is written 己 in the inscriptions. That this is equal to 紀 and not to 杓 is proved by C 66. The state 紀 Ki was situated in Shou-kuang-hien of Ts'ing-chou-fu, North Central Shantung, and the bell C 66 was found there, (see K'ia 2: 8) below a terrace called 紀侯臺 »the terrace of the prince of Ki«. Ki was extinguished by Ts'i in 690 B. C., so C 66, 67 must be anterior to that date.

- C 66. Chung. »Prince X of Ki made...». K'i 9: 2, photo Senoku Betsu 4, our Pl. XLVIII.
- 2—C 67. Kuei, lid. »Prince 蘿子 Mo-tsī of Ki set apart for 己姜 the Lady Kiang of Ki...». K'ia 11: 25, photo Mengwei, Sü 20. The lid now belongs to the MFEA. Our Pl. XXVII.

K'i 杓.

This state was situated first in K'i-hien of K'ai-feng-fu, North Eastern Honan, later in several successive places in Ts'ing-chou-fu, North Central Shantung. It was extinguished by Ch'u in 445 B. C., so the vessels C 68—72 must be anterior to that date.

- C 68. Ting. »The prince 每○ Mei-X of K'i made for 邑曹 (= 邑曹) the Lady Ts'ao of Chu...». Chengsung 3: 5, Tahi 241, ill. Chengts'iu 5.
 C 69. Hu. The same inscription as C 68. K'ia 14: 12, drawing Shan 4: 52.
 C 70. Kuei. The same inscription as C 68. Chengsung 5: 19, photo Shierkia 5: 16.
 C 71.* Ih. The same inscription as 68. Chengsung 10: 36.
 C 72.* Bowl. The same inscription as C 68. Kün 2/2: 51.

K'un-i 昆夷.

K'un-i were Jung »Barbarians« of Western Shensi, evidently early drawn into the sphere of Chinese culture.

- C 73. Chung. »The king of K'un-i using cowries made...». Lo Chen-yü, Yung feng
hiang jen kao, k. 4, p. 1, photo Mengwei, Sü 1, our Pl. XLVII.

Kuo 輓.

There were several Kuo, the principal ones of which were Eastern Kuo, in Si-shuei-hien of Ch'eng-chou, North Central Honan, extinguished by Cheng already before the beginning of the Ch'un ts'iu era (722); and Western Kuo, first in Pao-ki-hien of Feng-siang-fu, Western Shensi, from 770 in Shan-chou (Shan-hien) of North Western Honan, extinguished by Tsin in 655.

- C 74. »X, son of 文公 prince Wen of Kuo, made for 叔妃 the Lady Third sister Ki³...». T'ao, Sü shang 20, drawing *ibid*, also Huaimi, Hia 5, photo Mengwei, Shang 13.

Wen kung of Kuo occurs in Shī ki (Chavannes I, 276). He is there said to have been contemporaneous with Süan wang of Chou (827—782); the earliest support for this is furnished by the Kuo yü (Chou yü), which tells us how Kuo Wen kung remonstrated with King Süan. Our vessel thus must be dated around 800 B. C.

- C 75.* Li. The same inscription as 74. Chengsung 4: 14.

- C 76. Li. 輥仲 Kuo chung made for the Lady Ki³ of Kuo....». K'i 18: 21, drawing Huaimi, Hia 20. For Kuo chung »Second brother from Kuo», a common name carried by various persons, see p. 51 above.

- C 77. Kuei. 城 輥仲 Kuo chung of the Walled Kuo has made....». K'ia 10: 13, drawing Heng 37.

- C 78. Kuei. 輥叔 Kuo shu made». K'ao 4: 27, drawing *ibid*.

Kuo shu »Third brother from Kuo» is just as little telling as Kuo chung. There was a Kuo shu already in Wen wang's time; another, Kuo shu Lü, occurs in B 94 above; one Kuo shu is mentioned in Tso chuan in the year 722, and one in the year 674 B. C. The present person cannot be identified.

- C 79. Li. »Kuo shu made...». K'ao 2: 6, drawing *ibid*.

- C 79 a. Li. »Kuo shu made...». Photo Shierkia 7: 9.

- C 80. Kuei. »父 Tsu, 輥季氏子 son of the house of Kuo ki, has made...». Kün 2/2: 70, drawing T'ao, Sü shang 35, our Pl. XXXVIII. Belongs to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. For Kuo ki »Youngest brother from Kuo» see B 107 above.

- C 81. Hu. Same inscription as C 80. K'ia 14: 10, drawing Lianglei 7: 5.

- C 82. P'an. »In the 11th year, 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day yi-hai, Tsu, son of the house of Kuo ki (as C 80), made...». Photo Shuangyü 10.

- C 83. Hu. Same inscription as C 82. Photo Shuangyü 15, also in Ishu 21, our Pl. XLVI.

Lu 魯.

This state was situated in K'ü-fou-hien of Yen-chou-fu, South Western Shantung; it was annexed by Ch'u in 249 B. C.

- C 84. Chung. »原 Yüan of Lu made...». K'i 18: 27, drawing Huaimi, Hia 1.

- C 85.* Kuei. »The *t'ai-tsai* 原父 Yüan-fu of Lu made for 季姬 the Lady Youngest sister Ki¹...». K'i 16: 34, Tahi 239.

- C 86.** Kuei. »The *si-t'u* 伯吳○ Po-wu-X of Lu made...». Chengsung 5: 18, drawing Shan 9: 14.
- C 87.** Ting. »內小臣 the *siao-ch'en* of the Inner Palace of Lu made...». K'ia 6: 14, drawing P'anku, Shang 18.
- C 88.** Fu. »伯俞父 Po Yü-fu of Lu made...». Kün 2/2: 33, drawing Shan 9: 4 and Lianglei 7: 10.
- C 89.* (Li), 90* (Ih), 91* (P'an).** »Po Yü-fu of Lu made for 鄭姬 the Lady Ki¹ of Chu¹...». Chengsung 4: 8, 10, 35, 10: 25 resp.
- C 92.** Kuei. »士商龐 the nobleman Shang-cha of Lu made...». Kün 2/3: 56, Tahi 241, drawing 28: 4.
- C 93.** P'an. »正叔 Cheng shu of Lu...». Po 21: 15, drawing *ibid*.
- C 94.** P'an. »伯厚父 Po Hou-fu of Lu made for the Lady second sister Ki¹...». K'ia 16: 16, drawing Huiaimi 21.
- C 95.** Fu. »The nobleman X-fu of Lu made...». K'i 5: 21, drawing Shan 9: 1, 9: 2 (two vessels), our Pl L.
- C 96.** Kuei. »伯大父 Po Ta-fu of Lu made for 孟姜 the Lady Eldest sister X Kiang...». Kün 2/2: 71, photo Paoyün 64, also drawing Kukien 12: 32.
- C 97.** Kuei. »Po Ta-fu (as in C 96) of Lu made for 仲姬 the Lady Second sister Ki¹...». Kün 2/2: 71, Tahi 240, drawing Shan 8: 68.

Lü 呂 (呂).

State situated in Huo-chou, South Central Shansi.

- C 98.** Chung. »In the King's 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, 呂公 of Lü said: I, the grandson of 墓公 the prince of Pi, the son of 呂伯 the prince of Lü...». Chengsung 1: 18, Tahi 269, photo Eumorfopoulos II: 1 our Pl. LV, drawings P'anku, Shang 1—4, Heng 2, Shan 1: 36, 37. Western commentaries Yetts Eum. Cat. II, p. 43 and Pelliot, T'oung Pao XXVII, p. 393.

This was a set of 12 or 13 bells, found in 1862 in Jung-ho-hien of P'u-chou-fu in Shansi. This find-place shows that 呂 cannot (with Wu Ta-ch'eng, K'ia) be 莒 Kü, but must be equivalent to 呂 in Southern Shansi, as shown by Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan t'ang tsi lin 18). 墓萬 Pi Wan was enfeoffed with 魏 Wei in 661 B. C., and according to Shih ki it was his grandson Wei Tao-tsī who removed the residence to Huo (close to Lü). Tso chuan (Süan 12 etc.) mentions a grandson of Pi Wan, called 魏侯 Wei K'i, alias 呂侯 Lü K'i. His son was 魏相 Wei Siang alias 呂相 Lü Siang. Whether it is allowable to identify — following Wang Kuo-wei — Wei Tao-tsī with Wei (Lü) K'i, seems very uncertain (cf. Pelliot). It is certain, however, that the family removed to Honan in 340 B. C. The bells must therefore be anterior to 340, and posterior by at least two generations to Pi Wan (enfeoffed in 661), the founder of the Wei house, which sometimes was called 呂 Lü after this region, where it resided periodically. A more precise dating is hardly practicable.

Man 曼, 曼.

Wu Ta-ch'eng (K'ia) points out that on the one hand the clan name of the House of 鄭 Teng was 曼 Wan, on the other hand, Tso chuan (Cheng 3rd year) mentions a city 曼 Man in Cheng. That the Man of the inscriptions is a city name is evident.

C 100. Ting. »**師** Shī (the master?) made for **仲** Man chung (»Second brother from Man»)...». K'i 1: 13, photo Mengwei, Shang 9, drawing Ningshou 1: 27.

C 101. Kuei. Same inscription as C 100; photo Mengwei, Shang 22.

C 102. Kuei. »**曼** 父 Kung-fu of Man made...». K'i 3: 32; drawing Huaimi, Hia 27, also Lianglei 7: 12 and T'ao, Sū shang 44.

Mao 毛.

This state is said to have been situated close to I-yang-hien, North Western Honan (somewhat uncertain).

C 103. Kuei. »Prince **𠂇** 父 Lie-fu of Mao made for **仲妣** the Lady Second sister Yao...». Photo Paoyün 72, our Pl. XXXIX, also drawing Süyi 12: 16.

Mei 微.

Liu Sin-yüan proposes that this is the 鄭 Mei of the Tso version of Ch'un ts'iu (Chuang 28), which is written 微 by both Kung-yang and Ku-liang. Mei was a city in Lu, to the West of Tung-ping-chou of T'ai-an-fu, West Central Shantung. The identification is very uncertain; that we have here, however, the name of a feudal state is obvious.

C 104. Ting. »In the King's 5th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the prince of Mei and **仲父** Chung X-fu attacked the Southern Huai I Barbarians...». K'i 16: 20, drawing Po 3: 16.

C 105. Ting. »**惠** Huei made for the prince of Mei and the Lady **姁** Yün.. Po 3: 23, drawing *ibid.*

Pei 鄝 (北).

This state was situated to the North East of Wei-huei-fu, Northern Honan.

C 106. Yu. »Prince X of Pei made...». Chengsung 8: 23, photo Umebara I: 77.

Pi 畢.

Pi was situated in Hien-yang-hien of Si-an-fu, Central Shensi.

C 107. Li. »Po-X-fu has made for **畢姬** the Lady Ki¹ of Pi...». Chengsung 4: 14, drawing T'ao 2: 52, our Pl. XXXVI. There were five Li in the set with this inscription; one is now in the MFEA, Stockholm.

P'o 番.

It is doubtful what state or sub-state this P'o was. It might be the P'o which belonged to Ch'u: Shī ki, Wu shī kia (Chavannes IV, 24) says that 504 B. C. a Wu army took the city 番 P'o of Ch'u; in Ch'u shī kia this event is dated in 505. I do not know why Chavannes reads P'an; the correct reading of the character in this sense is surely P'o.

C 108. Li. »**番君** the ruler of P'o, X po, himself made...». K'ia 17: 12, drawing T'ao, Sū shang 46; also Shan 3: 24.

C 109. Ting. »**番仲吳生** P'o chung Wu sheng (»Second brother from P'o, Wu-sheng») made...». Kün 2/2: 59, drawing Shan 2: 66.

Shao 召 (召).

This state was situated in Feng-siang-fu, Western Shensi.

- C 110. Hien. »The great scribe Yu made for the prince of Shao...». Kün 2/1: 42, photo Senoku I: 11.
- C 111. Tsüe. »龢 Ho made for the prince of Shao...». K'i 5: 16, drawing Shan 7: 53.
- C 112.* Ting. Same inscription as C 111. Choichai 4: 9.
- C 113. Li. »召 仲 Shao chung (»Second brother from Shao«) made...». K'ia 17: 13, drawing Heng 94, also Ch'angan 1: 25 and P'anku, Shang 51.
- C 114. Hu. »召 仲 丁 父 Shao chung Ting-fu himself made...». Po 12: 14, drawing *ibid.*

Shi 邾.

This state was situated in Tsi-ning-chou, Southern Shantung. It was extinguished by Lu in 560 B. C. C 115 therefore must be anterior to that date.

- C 115. Ting. »The prince of Shi made for 孟 妃 the Lady Eldest sister Jen...». Kün 2/2: 58, Tahi 233; photo Paoyün 25, also drawing Süyi 1: 47.
- C 116. Kuei. »遣 K'ien of Shi made...». K'ia 9: 2, Tahi 234; drawing Shan 8: 73, also Sükia 12: 37.

Sie 薛 (特).

This state was situated in T'eng-hien of Yen-chou-fu, South Western Shantung.

C 117. P'an. »The prince of Sie made for 叔 妃 the Lady Third sister Jen...». Kün 2/2: 85, Tahi 225, drawing T'ao 3: 38.

Su 蘇 (蘇).

This state was situated in Wen-hien of Huai-k'ing-fu, Northern Honan. The clan name of the house of Su was Ki³, which is affirmed by the Kuo yü (Tsin yü), where it is said: »Sin of Yin attacked the prince of Su; the prince of Su gave him for wife 己 Tan (Ta) Ki³.

- C 118. Kuei. »The prince of Su made for 王 妃 the Consort of the King, the Lady Ki³...». K'i 3: 8, Tahi 211, drawing Heng 32.
- C 119. Kuei. »公子 奕 父 甲 prince Kuei-fu Kia of Su made...». Chengsung 5: 29, Tahi 212, photo Paoyün 66, also drawing Süyi 12: 37.
- C 120. Ting. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day jen-shen, the grandson of the prince of Su...». Chengsung 3: 24, Tahi 212, drawing Shan 2: 77, our Pl. LVII.
- C 121. Ting. »○ 妃 the Lady X-Jen of Su made for 虢 妃 魚 母 the Lady Ki³ Yü-mu of Kuo...». Kün 2/2: 23, Tahi 214; photo Mengwei, Shang 11, our Pl. XXXIII.
- C 122.* P'an. Same inscription as C 121. Chengsung 10: 27.
- C 123. Ting. »蘇 衛 妃 the Lady Ki³ of Su, married in Wei, made...». Chengsung 2: 41, ill. Chengts'iu 3; also drawings Heng 15, Ch'angan 1: 8, T'ao, Sü shang 19.

Sung 宋.

This state was situated in Shang-k'iu-hien of Kuei-tê-fu, Eastern Honan. It was extinguished by Ts'i in 286 B. C.

- C 124. Set of 6 Chung bells. »Bell of prince 戌 Sü of Sung». Kün 1/3: 38, Tahi 220; drawings Po 22: 27 ff. Our Pl. LVIII.

Sung kung Sü was P'ing kung (575—532 B. C.). Kuo Mo-jo, Tahi 220, reads 成 Ch'eng instead of 戌 Sü; Wu Shih-fen and Wang Kuo-wei read Sü, following Yüan Yüan. The graph is really Sü. The variant is ancient: Ch'un ts'iu (Chao

10th year) in the Tso version calls him prince 成 Ch'eng, in the Kung-yang version prince 戌 Sü. Kung-yang adds that Sü is a pun for 優 'clement'. From an historical point of view the incertitude of reading is immaterial: whether read Ch'eng or Sü the inscription refers to the said P'ing kung, and the bells are fairly closely datable.

C 125. Ting, lid. »The tripod of prince 樂 Luan of Sung». Tahi 221, drawing Po 3: 35.

Luan of Sung was 晉公 King kung (516—451), see Tso chuan, Chao 20th year.

C 126. Ting. »The grandson of prince X of Sung, the 走馬亥 tsou-ma Hai made....». K'ia 5: 16, Tahi 219; drawing Ch'angan 1: 11, our Pl. LVI.

C 127. Ting, lid. »Thetripod of the princely consort of Sung....». Po 3: 37, drawing *ibid.*

Sü 徐 (鄀).

This state was situated in Sü-chou of Northern Anhuei. It was extinguished by Wu in 512 B. C., so the vessels C 128—132 cannot be later than the 6th century.

C 128. Ting. »King X of Sü used....». Chengsung 3: 21, Tahi 189; drawing Shan 2: 74, our Pl. LVI.

C 129. Chung. »The virtuous son Yüan-er of King 庚 Keng of Sü....». K'ia 2: 19, Tahi 184; drawing T'ao, Sü shang 5, our Pl. LVII.

C 130. Chung. »The great-grandson 偕兒 Ch'ou-er...; I, the good servant of 羲楚 I-ch'u....». K'i 9: 14, Tahi 186, rubbing K'i 9: 14. This I-ch'u must be the same as in C 131 below, which gives the date.

C 131.* Chi. »In the 1st month, on an auspicious day, the day ting-yu, 羲楚 I-ch'u, king of Sü, selected....». K'i 17: 36, Tahi 188.

Found in Kao-an, Kiangsi. Tso chuan, Chao 6th year (536 B. C.) says: »儀楚 I-ch'u of Sü made a visit of friendly inquiries in Ch'u». The commentator Tu Yü says I-ch'u was a dignitary in Sü; here we learn that he was a prince of Sü.

C 132. Chi. »The sacrificial vessel of I-ch'u (as in C 131)». K'i 17: 36, photo Shuangyü 17, also drawing Shan 5: 93.

Tan or Shan 單.

This state was situated close to Royal Chou in North Western Honan.

C 133. Li. »Prince 原父 Yüan-fu of Tan made for 仲姞 the Lady Second sister Ki....». Kün 2/2: 85, drawing Ch'angan 1: 24, our Pl. L.

C 134. P'an. »子伯 Tsī po from Tan made....». Photo Shuangyü 11.

Teng 鄧 (鄧).

This state was situated to the North of Siang-yang-fu, Northern Hupei, or, according to others, in Teng-chou to the South of Nan-yang-fu in Southern Honan (it practically comes to the same). It was extinguished by Ch'u in 678 B. C., so C 135 must be anterior to that date.

C 135. Kuei, lid. »In the 9th month of Teng, 1st quarter ... the prince of Teng....». Tahi 207, photo Mengwei, Sü 21, drawing T'ao 2: 18.

C 136. Ting. »In the 8th month of Teng, 1st quarter...». Tahi 206, photo Mengwei, Shang 12, drawing T'ao 1: 29.

C 137. Hu, lid. »孟 Meng from Teng made for ○姬 the Lady X-Ki¹...». Tahi 206, photo Mengwei, Sü 25, drawing T'ao 3: 3.

T'eng 滕 (滕).

This state was situated to the South West of T'eng-hien of Yen-chou-fu, South Western Shantung.

C 138. Kuei. »虎 Hu of T'eng presumes to make...». Chengsung 4: 45, Tahi 225 photo Mengwei, Shang 27.

Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan t'ang tsi lin k. 6) wants to identify this Hu with a certain 孟虎 Meng Hu mentioned in Li ki, T'an kung. This is, of course, a guess without the slightest value.

Ts'ai 蔡 (蔡).

This state was situated in Shang-ts'ai-hien of Ju-ning-fu, South Eastern Honan.

C 139. Tsun. »Po made for the Lady Ki¹ of Ts'ai...». Kün 2/2: 5, ill. Chengts'iu 27, our Pl. XXXI.

C 139 a. Ih. »子佗 Ts'i-to of Ts'ai himself made...». Photo Shierkia 6: 17.

Tseng 鄭 (曾).

This state was situated in Yi-hien of Yen-chou-fu, South Western Shantung. It was extinguished by Kü in 567 B. C., so C 140, 141, 143, 144 must be anterior to that date.

C 140. Hu. »Prince 邦 I of Tseng used...». Chengsung 7: 33, Tahi 223, our Pl. XXXV.

C 141. Fu. »In the King's 9th month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-wu, prince X of Tseng ... vanquished the Ti Barbarians and the Huai I Barbarians...». K'i 5: 26, Tahi 221, ill. Tahi t'uлу 132.

Kuo Mo-jo, because of two place names (繁 and 湯), occurring both in this inscription and in C 172 below, wants to combine these two: Tsin and Tseng jointly attacked the Huai I. The grounds for this are much too frail.

C 142. Fu. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, Ts'i-X of Tseng himself made...». Wuying 38, photo *ibid*.

C 143. Ting. »Prince X, 諸子 son of a second-rank wife, of Tseng made. ». Kün 2/2: 37, photo Shuangyü 8, also drawing Shan 2: 63, our Pl. XLIX.

C 144. P'en. »The 大保 t'ai-pao of Tseng...». Chengsung 11: 8, Tahi 224; photo Shuangyü 13, drawing 9: 59, our Pl. LI.

Ts'i 齊.

This state was situated in Lin-ts'i-hien of Ts'ing-chou-fu, North Central Shantung. From 378 B. C. its princely family had the name 陳 (陳) Ch'en (to be distinguished from the state Ch'en above).

C 145. Bells. »In the King's 5th month, on the day mou-yin... the prince said: in the place of the prince of Ts'i....; ... to give service in the place of 漢武靈公 Huan-wu Ling kung; Huan-wu Ling kung gave...». Tahi 243, drawings Po 22: 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, our Pl. LVIII (*bis*).

There was a set of one Po bell and four ordinary bells with the same inscription. Since the prince of Ts'i is repeatedly mentioned in this long inscription, Kuo must be right in identifying Huan-wu Ling kung with prince Ling of Ts'i (581—554), Huan-wu being additional laudatory epithets of a well-known and common type; we find it again on a Ts'i vessel C 168 below.

- C 146. P'an. »The prince of Ts'i made as a bridal gift for ... 孟姜 the Lady Eldest sister Kiang...». K'i 8: 14, Tahi 251; photo Tahi t'ulu 157.
- C 147. Tuei. Same inscription as 146. Photo Umebara III: 203, our Pl. LIV.
- C 148. Ih. Same inscription as C 146. Ill. Ishu 23.
- C 149.* Ting. Same inscription as C 146. K'i 6: 38.
- C 150.* Kuei. Same inscription as C 146. K'i 3: 29.
- C 151. »The prince of Ts'i made...». Shan 9: 18, drawing *ibid.* Our Pl. LVI.
- C 152. Kuei. »The prince of Ts'i made...». Eumorfopoulos I: 36, our Pl. LIV.
- C 153. P'an. »The prince of Ts'i made for 楚姬 the Lady Ki¹ of Ch'u. Po 21: 13, drawing *ibid.*
- C 154. Ih. »The prince of Ts'i made for 虢孟姬 the Lady Eldest sister Ki¹ of Kuo. ». K'i 18: 26, drawing Huaimi, Hia 13, also Lianglei 7: 21.
- C 155. Hu. »The daughter X of the prince of Ts'i...; ... 桓子孟姜 Huan-ts'i and the Lady Eldest sister Kiang therefore pray for a fine charge...». K'i 18: 16, Tahi 254; drawing Huaimi, Hia 16, also Lianglei 4: 2, 5: 2.

The Chinese authors all seem to agree that the Huan-ts'i mentioned was the 桓子 (陳無字) who was a high statesman in Ts'i during the reign of prince Chuang (553—548); but since there were several dignitaries 桓子 Huan-ts'i in Ts'i, no safe dating is possible.

- C 156. Hu. »... the three armies of Ts'i...; to present it at the place of prince Ling...». Tahi 247, drawing Sükia 16: 9.

Prince Ling, though the graph has an additional rad. 113, must be the same Ling kung (581—554), as in C 145 above.

- C 157. P'an. »In the King's 8th month, on the day ting-hai, 大宰歸父 the t'ai-tsai Kuei-fu of Ts'i... made...». K'i 8: 12, Tahi 252; drawing T'ao, Sü hia 17.

There were two prominent statesmen in Ts'i with the personal name Kuei-fu: 國 Kuo Kuei-fu, who is first mentioned in the Tso chuan under the year 649 B. C., and 析 Si Kuei-fu, who is first mentioned under the year 555. The name Kuei-fu thus tells us nothing — there may have been many of that name.

- C 158. Chung. »In the King's 5th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, X, grandson of X shu... of Ts'i, son of Ts'i chung...; ... august ancestor 聖叔 Sheng shu and his august wife 聖姜 Sheng Kiang...; X shu had merits in the state of Ts'i...». K'ia 2: 21, Tahi 248; drawing P'anku, Hia 1.

- C 159. Chung. »In the 9th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, Shou made for 叔姜 the Lady Third sister Kiang...; can serve the prince of Ts'i...». Sükia 17: 28, drawing *ibid.*

- C 160. Chung. »...父 Ch'i-fu made for ... 姜 the Lady Kiang of Ts'i...». Po 22: 19, drawing *ibid.*, also K'ao 7: 5.

- C 161. Fu. »...陳曼 Ch'en Man of Ts'i does not presume to...; has made for his august father Hien shu...». Chengsung 6: 33, Tahi 257, drawing Kukien 29: 6. A round

lid with the same inscription in Shuangyü 10 is too badly photographed to be of any use.

C 162. P'an. »○ 姮 the Lady X-Ki of Ts'i...». Kukien 32: 37, drawing *ibid.*

C 163. Ting. »The... scribe of Ts'i...». Po 3: 20, drawing *ibid.*

C 164. Li. »不 父 Pu-X of Ts'i made...». Chengsung 4: 10, drawing Shan 3: 23.

C 165. Tan. »In the year when 國 差 Kuo-X started an expedition...;... the state of Ts'i...». K'i 18: 21, Tahi 253; photo Paoyün 91, also drawing Süyi 16: 9.

An old interpretation that 國 差 is equal to 國 佐 Kuo Tso, a Ts'i statesman who was killed in 573 B. C. (Ch'un ts'iu, Ch'eng 18) has been doubted by Jung Keng (Paoyün) but is probably right.

C 166. Kuei. »In the 14th year, prince 午 Wu of Ch'en with the aid of all the princes...». Chengsung 5: 42, Tahi 258; photo Paoyün 74, our Pl. XLII, also drawing Süyi 12: 44.

Ch'en hou, prince Wu of Ch'en is prince 桓 Huan of Ts'i, of the Ch'en (T'ien) family, and the 14th year is 371 B. C. It is true that the Shī ki (T'ien King chung shī kia) gives Huan only 6 years of reign (384—379), but the So-yin (*ibid.*) quotes the Chu shu ki nien so as to show that he had at least 18 years; the following reign (Wei) must have been given too long (378—343) in the Shī ki. So the date 371 is reliable.

C 167. Tuei. Same inscription as C 166. Photo Wuying 79.

C 167 a. Tuei. Same inscription as C 166. Photo Shierkia 5: 13.

C 168. Tuei. »In the... 6th month, on the day kuei-wei, prince 因 爲 Yin-ts'i of Ch'en said... my august father 孝 武 父 Hiao-wu Huan kung...». K'i 4: 13, Tahi 259; drawing Shan 2: 82.

Prince Yin-ts'i is Wei wang (因 齊, dead 343 B. C.). He calls his father Huan kung (see C 167 above) Hiao-wu Huan kung with additional laudatory epithets.

C 169. Kuei, lid. »In the King's 5th month... on the day ting-hai, 爻 Fang(?) said: I, the grandson of Ch'en chung X, ○ 叔 和 子 X shu Ho-ts'i...». Kün 3/1: 21, Tahi 256; drawing Shan 8: 81.

Since Ch'en is written 齊, we can know that it is of late Ts'i time.

C 170. Hu. »In the King's 5th year, when 鄭 Cheng X and Ch'en 色 X for the second time made an expedition, in the 1st winter month, on the day mou-ch'en...; Ch'en 辟 Sing entered and attacked 燕 Yen... booty». Photo Umebara III: 213, Museum of Penn, Philadelphia.

Kuo Mo-jo has given a very good commentary of this inscription in Ku tai ming k'o huei k'ao. In all probability the »5th year» refers to 279 B. C. (Siang wang's 5th year), when, according to the Shī ki, there was a Ts'i war against 燕 Yen (for 燕 equal to Yen see below).

Tsin 晉.

This state was situated in Southern Shansi; the successive capitals were all inside the prefecture of P'ing-yang-fu. Tsin was extinguished in 376 B. C.

C 171. An (bowl). »In the King's 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the prince of Tsin said...;... my illustrious father...;... in the state of Tsin...; my

eldest daughter . . . ; bridal vessel . . . ; . . . to be consort in the state of Ch'u. . . . Kün 3/3: 28, Tahi 267; ill. Chou kin wen ts'un 4: 35, also Tahi t'ulu 163, our Pl. LVII.

Kuo adduces the version of the inscription as given in Ts'ung ku t'ang k'uan chi hüe 8: 14, where there are, after »my illustrious father», the words 文公 Wen kung, and therefore dates it in Siang kung's (627—621 B. C.) reign; but in Kün 3/3: 28 and in Chou kin wen ts'un we can clearly see that this is wrong: the character is not 文. In Choichai k. 28: 7 it is argued that the prince of Tsin must be P'ing kung (557—532), since the inscription refers to the event narrated in Tso chuan under the year 538 (Chao 4), when the prince of Ch'u asked for, and was given, the daughter of the prince of Tsin to wife. This is quite possible, but of course by no means certain. A reliable dating is not possible. In any case the vessel is anterior to 376, after which year there was no Tsin kung.

- C 172. Ting. »In the King's 9th month, on the day yi-hai, the Lady 美 Kiang in Tsin said: I have succeeded my deceased aunt in ruling the state of Tsin . . . ; . . . not to neglect the great charge of the prince 文侯 Wen hou. . . .» Tahi 266, drawing Po 2: 6. The vessel cannot be anterior to Wen hou (780—746).
- C 173. Ting. »The si-t'u 伯父 Po Ko-fu of Tsin made for 周姬 the Lady Ki¹ of Chou. . . .» Po 3: 13, our Pl. XLIX.
- C 174. Kuei. »In the 3rd month, 1st quarter, 格伯 Ko po made for 姬 the Lady Ki¹ of Tsin. . . .» K'i 3: 18, photo Shuangkien 16.

Ts'in 秦.

This state was first situated in Ts'in-chou of Eastern Kansu, then from 762 in several successive places in Feng-siang-fu, Western Shensi, and later spreading over the whole of Shensi.

- C 175. Chung. »The prince of Ts'in said: my great illustrious august ancestors received the charge of Heaven . . . twelve princes (kung) . . . » Tahi 273, drawing K'ao 7: 9.
- C 176. Kuei. »The prince of Ts'in said: my great illustrious august ancestors received the charge of Heaven . . . twelve princes . . . » Chengsung 6: 13, Tahi 272; photo Tahi t'ulu 127.

The date of these vessels is somewhat enigmatic, in spite of the fact that the prince speaks of twelve predecessors. It all depends upon how we count. If we reckon as the first prince the Fei-ts'i who was given a subordinate fief in Hiao-wang's time, the present orator will be prince Ch'eng (663—660 B. C.). If we count the first real 公 kung duke, Chuang kung, as number one, then the prince of Ts'in of the inscription will be Huan kung (603—577); the latter alternative is certainly the most plausible.

Wei 衛.

This state was situated first in several successive places in Wei-huei-fu of Northern Honan, then from the end of the 7th century in K'ai-chou of Taming-fu, Southernmost Hopei.

- C 177.** Li. »如 the Lady Si of Wei made...». Chengsung, Pu shang 16, drawing Shan 3: 21.
- C 178.** Kuei. »In the 9th month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-wu, 公叔 Kung-shu first had audience in Wei...». K'ia 9: 7, Tahi 262; drawing Shan 8: 49.
- C 179.** Fu. »子叔○父 Ts'i shu X-fu of Wei made...». Kün 2/1: 29, drawing Ch'angan 1: 23.
- C 180.** Hu. »The si-k'ou 良父 Liang-fu made for 姪 the Lady Ki¹ of Wei...». K'i 18: 11, Tahi 262; drawing Huaimi, Hia 14.
- C 181.** Fu. »商丘叔 Shang-k'iu shu made...». K'i 5: 22, drawing T'ao 2: 46, 2: 47 (two vessels).

According to the Feng su t'ung (Sing shī p'ien), a family of dignitaries in Wei had the city of Shang-k'iu as vassals under Wei. Shang-k'iu was also the name of the capital of Sung (see Tso chuan, Siang 9 with commentary). Since it is unlikely that Shang-k'iu shu should be a name founded on the princely city of Sung, the Shang-k'iu of Wei seems more likely here.

Wu 吳.

This state was situated in Ch'ang-chou and Su-chou of Southern Kiang-su. It was extinguished by Yüe in 473 B. C.

- C 182.** Chung. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, 者滅 Chê-(Chu?) Kien, son of prince 皮隸 P'i-X of 工父 (Kung-yü =) Wu selected...». Chengsung 1: 12, Tahi 177; drawing Shan 1: 17, our Pl. LVIII, also Sükia 17: 1—19 (there was a set).

That Kung-yü is equal to 句吳 Kou-wu, the earliest name of the state of Wu, is certain (Wang Kuo-wei, Kuan t'ang ts'i lin Pie ts'i 1: 1) That 句 in this name had the variant 工 is indicated by K'ung Ying-ta in his commentary to Tso chuan, Suan 8. 吳 and 魏 are interchangeable, and 吳 (Arch. *ngo*) and 魏 (Arch. *ngio*) had the same final.

Wang's and Kuo's endeavours to identify the prince P'i-X are on the contrary very little successful.

- C 183.** Kien bowl. »攻吳王夫差 Fu-ch'ai, king of Kung-Wu, selected...». Chengsung 11: 4, our Pl. LII. This magnificent vessel now belongs to Mr. H. G. Oeder and is deposited in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

That we have to decipher: »Fu-ch'ai, king of (Kung-Wu = Kou-Wu =) Wu» and identify this person with the famous Fu-ch'ai who reigned 495—473 B. C. — the last ruler of Wu — has been proved by Wang Kuo-wei (Kuan t'ang ts'i lin Pie ts'i 1: 1), and this has been universally accepted by Chinese scholars. To our mind there cannot be the slightest doubt that he is right. The graph variants are such as could hardly have been imagined by a forger, so the authenticity of the inscription is certain.

- C 184.** Fu. »The chariot conductor of the king of Wu...». Sükia 13: 11, drawing *ibid.*
- C 185.** Kuei. »○父 X-fu of Wu made...». Chengsung 5: 30, Tahi 270; ill. Chengts'iu 17.

For purely formal reasons we have placed the last two vessels here. Kuo Mo-jo is very likely right when he proposes that 吳 Wu here is but a short-

form for 延 Yü (the state Yü below) — the two characters *wu* and *yü* are interchangeable. We have already seen that in the inscriptions the state Wu in Kiangsu is called, not simply Wu but Kung-Wu or Kung-Yü.

Yen 燕 (匱, 鄭).

That the latter two forms of the inscriptions are identical with the 北 燕 Pei Yen of the texts is perfectly certain (see Kuo Mo-jo, *Kin wen yü shi chi yü* p. 7 ff.). Cf. also B 74, 75 above. This state was situated in Ta-hing-hien of Shun-t'ien-fu, Northern Hopei.

C 186. Ih. »The prince of 燕 Yen made for 姜 the Lady Kiang...». Kün 2/1: 84, Tahi 265; drawing Huaimi, Hia 12, also Shan 9: 38, our Pl. LVI.

Ying 鹹.

This state was situated in Lu-shan-hien of Ju-chou, West Central Honan. Very little is known about it, beyond the bare fact that it was given in fief to a son of Wu wang. In the inscriptions 187—190 its prince is called Ying kung, and they are all of an early style. In C 191 he is called Ying hou, and it is of a later style.

C 187. Ting. »The prince of Ying made...». Ill. Ishu 9, our Pl. XXIX.

C 188. Kuei. »The prince of Ying made...». K'ia 9: 4, drawing Kukien 13: 18.

C 189. Kuei. »The prince of Ying made...». Kukien 13: 19, drawing *ibid.*

C 190. Yu. »The prince of Ying made...». Kukien 16: 1, drawing *ibid.*

C 191. Kuei. »The prince (hou) of Ying made for 姫原母 the Lady Ki¹ Yüan-mu...». Po 17: 10, drawing *ibid.* Also K'ao 3: 7.

Yung 雜.

This state was situated in Siu-wu-hien of Huai-k'ing-fu, Northern Honan. It is one of the states which Tso chuan (Hi 24) enumerates as given in fief to sons of Wen wang.

C 192. Ting. »The king ordered the prince of Yung...». Mengwei, Shang 10, photo *ibid.*

Yü 虞.

This state was situated in Kie-chou (Hie-chou), Southern Shansi. It was extinguished by Tsin in 655 B. C., so C 193 must be anterior to that date.

C 193. Hu. »伯 O Po-X, *sī-k'ou* of Yü, made...». K'ia 14: 9, Tahi 270; Ill. Ishu 23, our Pl. LI.

The state 兮 X.

C 194. P'an. »The consort of the King's son 刺公 La (Lie?) kung, Lady X of the state of X (as above) made . . . to protect and govern the state of X.». K'ia 16: 18, Tahi 274; drawing Heng 88, our Pl. LI.

C 195. Kuei. Same inscription as C 194. T'ao 2: 2, drawing *ibid.*

C 196.* Ting. Same inscription as C 194. Chengsung 3: 19.

C 197.* Hu. Same inscription as C 194. K'ia 14: 18.

All these vessels (7 Ting, 6 Kuei, 2 Hu and 1 P'an) with the same inscription were found in Hu-hien of Shensi. The script is of a comparatively late type. Kuo's surmise that this enigmatic state was a sub-fief of Ts'in is therefore plausible.

II. *Inscriptions on vessels which are not accessible in illustration.*

We shall record these much more briefly, and mostly without Chinese characters, since they are of less importance to our present study.

Ch'en.

- C 198. Ting. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the prince of Ch'en made...». K'i: 1: 28.
C 199. Ih. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the son of Ch'en-tsī made for 孟姬 the Lady Eldest sister Kuei¹...». K'i 8: 34, Tahi 218. Kuei¹ was the clan name of the family of Ch'en.
C 200. Hien. »In the 9th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the kung-tsī prince Tsī shu Yüan-fu of Ch'en made...». Kün 3/1: 9, Tahi 217.

Cheng.

- C 201. Ih. »The prince of Cheng...». Kün 2/3: 8.
C 202. Li. »Prince X of Cheng...». K'i 8: 4.
C 203. Ting. »The Lady T'ung 姮 Kuei of Cheng...». K'i 1: 20.
C 204. Ih. »In the 12th month, 1st quarter, on the day yi-sī, the great nei-shī Shu-shang of Cheng made for 叔姬 the Lady Third sister Yün...». Kün 2/3: 75, Tahi 215.
C 205. Sü. »Teng shu of Cheng made...». Chengsung 6: 37.
C 206. Li. »叔父 Shu Huo-fu of Cheng made...». Kün 2/1: 13. This may be the same person as in B 128 above.
C 207. Hien. »The t'ai-shī, the little one Hou-fu of Cheng made...». Kün 2/2: 19.
C 208. Ting. Yang po of Cheng made...». Chengsung 3: 1.
C 209. Ting. »Tsi-shī of Cheng made...».

Ch'i.

- C 210. Kuei. »I, Chung Cha-fu, made for my august father the prince of Ch'i and for my royal mother 姫 the Lady Ki¹ of Ch'i...». K'i 16: 30.

Chou.

- C 211. Tou. »Sheng of Chou made...». K'ia 17: 19.
C 212. Sü. »Mo of Chou made...». K'ia 15: 25.
C 213. Ting. »I-chung made for his father Ki of Chou...». Chengsung 2: 41.
C 214. Ih. »X of Chou made...». K'ia 16: 21.

Chu¹.

- C 215. Chung. »In the King's 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day yi-hai, prince 华 Hua of Chu¹...». Kün 3/2: 6, Tahi 227. Prince Hua of Chu¹ died 541 B. C.
C 216. Ting. »Prince Yü-jung of Chu¹ made...». Kün 2/2: 24, Tahi 231.
C 217. Chung. »The ruler of Chu¹ selected fine metal...». Chengsung 1: 3.
C 218. Fu. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, the t'ai-tsai of Chu¹...». K'i 17: 22, Tahi 231.

C 219. Li. »Yu-fu of Chu¹...». K'ia 17: 8, Tahi 230.

C 220. Ting. »X of Chu¹ made...». Kün 2/1: 65.

Chu⁴.

C 221. Chung. »Prince K'iu of Chu⁴ made for 季 姜 the Lady Youngest sister Kiang.». Chengsung 1: 4.

Ch'u.

C 222. Chung. »In the King's 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, prince X of Ch'u...». Chengsung 1: 4, Tahi 193.

C 223. Chung. »In the King's 5th year... King 金 章 Yin (= Hiung) Chang of Ch'u...». Kün 2/3: 77, Tahi 194. For Yin = 熊 Hiung see above. Chang was Huei wang (488—432 B. C.) of Ch'u, and the vessels is dated 463 B. C.

C 224. P'an. »... to guard the king of Ch'u...». Kün 2/2: 74, Tahi 195.

C 225. Ih. »In the King's 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-wu, 嬴 the Lady Ying of Ch'u...». Chengsung, Pu chung 29.

Huang.

C 226. Kuei. »The ruler of Huang made for 季 嬴 the Lady Youngest sister Ying...». Chengsung 5: 35, Tahi 201.

C 227. P'an. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, X of Huang... made for 仲 嬴 the Lady Second sister Ying...». K'i 18: 24, Tahi 200.

C 228. P'an. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-shen, X Yü-fu of Huang made...». Chengsung, Sü hia 20, Tahi 201.

Jo.

C 229. Ting. »In the 8th month of Jo, 1st quarter, on the day kuei-wei, prince 平 P'ing of Jo...». Chengsung 3: 27, Tahi 199.

Juei.

C 230. Ting. »Tsī chung... of Juei made for 叔 婦 the Lady Third sister Kuei⁴...». Kün 2/2: 38.

Ki.

C 231. Kuei. »The prince of Ki made for 姜 the Lady Kiang-X...». K'i 3: 11.

Kuo.

C 232. K'ien shu Ki-fu made for the King's consort 姪 Lady Ki² of Kuo...». K'i 5: 30.

C 233. Kuei. »K'ien sheng of the Walled Kuo made...». K'i 3: 14.

C 234. Li. »姞 the Lady Ki² of Kuo made...». Chengsung 4: 3.

C 235. Ting. »姜 the Lady Kiang of Kuo made...». K'i 6: 16.

C 236. Fu. »虢 叔 Kuo shu made...». K'ia 15: 6.

C 237. Fu. »Kuo shu made...». K'i 5: 20.

C 238. Sü. »Kuo shu cast...». K'i 17: 28.

C 239. Tsun. »Kuo shu made...». K'i 17: 4.

C 240. Yü. »Kuo shu made...». Chengsung 11: 2.

C 241. Ting. »Kuo shu Ta-fu made...». Chengsung 3: 1.

Lu.

C 242. Küe. »The prince of Lu made...». K'i 18: 8.

C 243. Hu. »The prince of Lu made for 叔 姪 the Lady Third sister Ki¹...». Kün 2/1: 15.

C 244. Yi. »The prince of Lu made for 妻 the Lady Kiang...». Chengsung, Pu shang 22.

C 245. Li. »The prince of Lu made for 姫 the Lady Ki¹...». Chengsung 4: 5.

C 246. Ih. »The ta-si-t'u... of Lu... made for 孟姬 the Lady Eldest sister Ki¹...». K'i 8: 33, Tahi 239.

Pei.

C 247. Ting. »The prince of Pei made...». Chengsung 2: 22.

C 248. Li. »The prince of Pei made...». K'ia 17: 17.

C 249. Tsun. »The prince of Pei made...». K'i 5: 7.

Pi.

C 250. Ting. »X chung made for 婿 the Lady Kuei⁴ of Pi...». Chengsung 2: 46.

P'o.

C 251. Fu. »Prince 召 Shao of P'o made...». Kün 2/3: 8.

C 252. Ting. »Prince X of P'o himself made...». Kün 2/1: 79.

C 253. Li. »The King made for 妃 the Lady Ki³ of P'o...». Kün 2/1: 74.

Shi.

C 254. Ting. »Prince Si of Shi made...». Chengsung 3: 15, Tahi 234.

C 255. Ting. »Tsao of Shi made...». Chengsung 2: 45.

Sie.

C 256. Ting. »Prince Ts'i of Sie made...». Kün 2/1: 32, Tahi 226.

C 257. Ih. »The prince of Sie made for 妊 the Lady Jen...». K'ia 16: 21.

Su.

C 258. Ih. »Fu-jen of Su made for... 妃 the Lady Ki³...». K'i 8: 30.

C 259. P'an. »Fu-jen of Su made...». Chengsung 10: 25.

Sung.

C 260. Li. »Mei-fu of Sung made...». Kün 2/1: 54.

Sü.

C 261. Small bell. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, X of Sü...». Chengsung 1: 20, Tahi 187.

C 262. Chi. »King Mou-fu of Sü...». K'i 17: 34.

Teng.

C 263. Kuei. »Prince ... of Teng himself made...». K'ia 12: 11.

C 264. Kuei. »... 孟 婦 the Lady Eldest sister Kuei⁴ of Teng...». Chengsung 5: 27.

T'eng.

C 265. Kuei. »Prince Su of T'eng made...». Kün 2/2: 86, Tahi 224.

Ts'ai.

C 266. Ting. »The prince of Ts'ai made...». Kün 2/1: 58.

C 267. Ih. »The prince of Ts'ai made for 姫 署 the Lady Ki¹ Tan...». Kün 2/1: 16.

C 268. Yi. »姑 the Lady Ki³ of Ts'ai made...». K'i 5: 18, Tahi 205.

C 269. Ting. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the *t'ai shi*... of Ts'ai... for 叔姬 the Lady Third sister Ki¹ of Hü...». Chengsung, Sü shang 24, Tahi 205.

Tseng.

C 270. Fu. »... the prince of Tseng made for 叔姬 the Lady Third sister Ki¹...». Chengsung 6: 33.

C 271. Fu. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, X of Tseng himself made...». Chengsung 6: 31.

C 272. Fu. »X of Tseng himself made...». Chengsung 6: 25.

C 273. Ting. »X of Tseng used...». Chengsung 3: 25.

C 274. Fu. »X of Tseng...». Chengsung 6: 24.

Ts'i.

C 275. P'an. »The prince of Ts'i made... 孟姬 the Lady Eldest sister Ki¹...». Kün 2/2: 30.

C 276. Kuei. »The prince of Ts'i made...». K'ia 8: 8.

C 277. Kuei. »癸 姜 the Lady Kuei Kiang of Ts'i made...». Kün 2/2: 29.

C 278. Chung. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the grandson of... of Ts'i...». Chengsung 1: 15, Tahi 250.

C 279. Chi. »The scribe of Ts'i made...». Chengsung, Sü chung 37.

C 280. Hu. »Liang of Ts'i made...». Chengsung 7: 31.

C 281. Cauldron. »In the year when 陳猷 Ch'en Yu started an expedition...». K'i 6: 35, Tahi 260. Found in Kiao-chou, Shantung.

C 282. Cauldron. »Tsi-Ho-tsī... 陳具 Ch'en Kü...». K'i 6: 35. Found together with C 281 in Kiao-chou, Shantung.

C 283. Fu. »In the King's 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, the young man 陳逆 Ch'en I said: I, the descendant of 陳桓子 Ch'en Huan-tsī... I serve the prince of Ts'i...». K'i 17: 26, Tahi 256. Cf. C 155 above.

C 284. Kuei. »In the ice month, on the day ting-hai, 逆 I, the scion of the house of Ch'en...». Kün 2/3: 40, Tahi 257.

Wu (Yü).

C 285. Fu. »X shu made for 吳姬 the Lady Ki¹ of Wu (Yü)...». Chengsung 6: 28.

C 286. Ih. »I have myself made for the Lady Ki¹ of Wu (Yü)...». Chengsung 10: 33.

Yen.

C 287. Yi. »Prince 畏 Tsai of Yen made...». Kün 2/3: 66. According to Chu shu ki nien (ap. So-yin to Shī ki, Yen shī kia) prince Ch'eng of Yen (449—434) had the personal name Tsai.

Ying.

C 288. Ting. »The prince of Ying made...». Kün 2/2: 35.

C 289. Ting. »The prince of Ying made...». Kün 1/3: 41.

C 290. Hu. »The prince of Ying made...». Chengsung 7: 26.

C 291. Tsun. »The prince of Ying made...». K'i 5: 7.

Yung.

C 292. Ting. »Prince Yüan of Yung made...». Chengsung 3: 12.

D. BRONZES WITH CHOU TIME CLAN NAMES.

I. *Illustrated bronzes.*

Clan Yi 妃.

- D 1. Chung. »The Lady Yi 麟母 Li-mu made...». Shan 1: 7, drawing *ibid*.
D 2. Kuei. »The Lady Yi Li-mu (as D 1) made...». K'i 3: 14, drawing Shan 8: 62.
D 3. Ih. »Shu Kao-fu made for Chung Yi the Lady Second sister Yi...». Cheng-sung 10: 37, drawing Shan 9: 41.

Clan Jen 姬.

- D 4. Kuei. »The Lady X-Jen made...». Kün 2/1: 72; photo Mengwei, Shang 26, our Pl. XL.

Clan Ki¹ 姫.

- D 5. Fu. »The prince of X made for the Lady Eldest sister Ki¹...». Mengwei, Sü 11, our Pl. XLIII.
D 6. Kuei. »Po Ki¹ the Lady Eldest sister Ki¹ made...». Chengsung, Sü shang 34; drawing Shan 8: 56.
D 7. Kuei. »辛 叔 Sin shu (»Third brother from Sin«) Huang-fu made for Chung Ki¹ the Lady Second sister Ki¹...». Kukien 28: 6, drawing *ibid*.
D 8. Ting. »辛 Chung Ki¹ the Lady Second sister Ki¹ from Sin...». Chengsung 3: 12, drawing Kukien 2: 30. D 7 and D 8 may be suspected of being spurious, since they have 中 instead of 仲.
D 9. Fu. »The prince of X made for Shu Ki¹ the Lady Third sister Ki¹...». Mengwei, Sü 13; the lid of this Fu now belongs to H. R. H. the Crown Prince of Sweden, our Pl. XLIII.
D 10. Fu. »The Lady Third sister Ki¹ from King (the capital) made...». Ningshou 11: 26, drawing *ibid*.
D 11. Ih. »Ki Ki¹ the Lady Youngest sister Ki¹ made...». Po 21: 5, drawing *ibid*, also K'ao 6: 5.
D 12. P'an. »師 玄父 Shī Huan-fu made for Ki Ki¹ the Lady Youngest sister Ki¹...». Chengsung 10: 27; photo Paoyün 76, our Pl. XLIV, also drawing Süyi 15: 3.
D 13. Kuei. »I have made for the Lady Ki¹...». Shan 8: 34, drawing *ibid*.
D 14. Li. »In the 12th month, 1st quarter, Li Sien-fu made for the Ladies Kiang and Ki¹...». Photo Senoku I: 9.
D 15. P'an. »Mao-shu made as a bridal gift for the Lady X-Ki¹ of the Piao family...». Sükia 15: 3 drawing *ibid*.
D 16. Ting. »Vessel of the Lady Ki¹...». Chengsung 3: 20, ill. Chengts'iu 8.
D 17. Li. »Ki¹-X-mu made...». T'ao 2: 57, drawing *ibid*.
D 18. Hu. »The Lady X-Ki¹ made...». K'ia 14: 20, drawing Heng 53.
D 19. Sü. »Chung-po made for the Lady 變姬 Lüan Ki¹...». K'ia 15: 19, drawing Shan 9: 11, also Kukien 29: 19.
D 20. Kuei. »Chung-po made for 辛姬 變人 Sin Ki¹ Lüan jen...». Kukien 27: 23, also Sükia 12: 48.
D 21.* Hu. Same inscription as D 20. Kün 2/2: 77.
D 22. Ting. »In the 6th year, 8th month, 1st quarter, on the day ki-sī, I, the son, scribe 伯碩父 Po Shī-fu show my reverence for my august father 麟仲 Li chung and my Royal mother 原姬 Yüan Ki¹...». Po 2: 8, drawing *ibid*.

Clan Ki² 姬.

- D 23. Li. »The *si-ma* Meng Sin-fu made for *Meng Ki²* the Lady Eldest sister *Ki²*...». Chengsung 4: 15; drawing Shan 3: 27, also T'ao 2: 54.
- D 24. Li. »*Chung Ki²* the Lady Second sister *Ki²* made...». Chengsung 4: 4, drawing Shan 3: 18.
- D 25. Li. Same inscription as D 24. Senoku I: 7, our Pl. XXXVII.
- D 26. Li. Same inscription as D 24. Photo Umebara II: 96.
- D 27. Ih. »*Chung Ki²* 義母 the Lady Second sister *Ki²* I-mu made...». Po 20: 35, drawing *ibid.*, also K'ao 6: 6.
- D 28. Kuei. »*Shi Huan-fu* made for *Shu Ki²* the Lady Third sister *Ki²*...». Chengsung 5: 13, photo Paoyün 68, our Pl. XXXIX, also drawing Süyi 12: 29. *Shi Huan-fu* is the same as in D 12 above.
- D 29. Ting. »*Shi Huan-fu* (as in D 12, 28) made for *Ki Ki²* the Lady Youngest sister *Ki²*...». Po 3: 25, drawing *ibid.*
- D 30. Urn. »In the 2nd month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-mao, 公 姬 the Lady Kung *Ki²* ordered...». Seligman Collection, Oxford, our Pl. LIII.
- D 31. Kuei. »In the 2nd month, on the day mou-yin, 伯 庶 父 Po Shu-fu made for the Royal consort Lady *Ki²* and 同 姜 the Lady T'ung Kiang...». K'ao 3: 13, drawing *ibid.*
- D 32. Kuei. »In the King's 5th month, on the day ping-sü, X-shu made for 豊 姬 Feng *Ki²* (or: *Ki²* of Feng?)...». K'i 16: 33, drawing Shan 8: 82.
- D 33. Kuei. »Hu made for the Lady *Ki²*...». Photo Umebara II: 118.
- D 34. Chi. »*夏* 母 *Ki²* Keng-mu made...». Chengsung 9: 27; photo Shuangkien 49.

Clan Ki³ 妲.

- D 35. Hu. »... *Meng Ki³* the Lady Eldest sister *Ki³*...». Kukien 19: 10, drawing *ibid.*

Clan Kiang 姫.

- D 36. Hu. »The consort of the King, the Lady Eldest sister Kiang made...». T'ao, Sū hia 6, drawing *ibid.*
- D 37. Li. »Same inscription as D 36. Chengsung 4: 6, drawing T'ao 2: 56.
- D 37 a. Ting. »The Lady Eldest sister Kiang gave...». Photo Shierkia 7: 8.
- D 38. Li. »Po Kia-fu made for *Meng Kiang* the Lady Eldest sister Kiang...». T'ao 2: 55, our Pl. L.
- D 39.* Kuei. »Po... sister Kiang (= 38)...». Chengsung, Sū shang 39.
- D 40.* Kuei. »Po... sister Kiang (= 38)...». Chengsung 5: 24.
- D 41. Fu. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, X made for the Lady Eldest sister Kiang...». Kukien 29: 5, drawing *ibid.*
- D 42. Kuei. »Shu X-fu made for the Lady Eldest sister Kiang...». Po 17: 18, drawing *ibid.*
- D 43. Tou. »*申* 比 父 Pi-fu from Shen made for the Lady Eldest sister Kiang...». Shan 9: 17, drawing *ibid.*, our Pl. LVI. *申* Shen is very likely the state *申* Shen of the classics. This was extinguished by Ch'u in 688 B. C. In the inscription of this late vessel it is probably only the Ch'u district Shen which is referred to.
- D 44. Kuei. »Ki Yung-fu made for the Lady Eldest sister Kiang...». Shan 8: 48, drawing *ibid.*
- D 45. Kuei. »The grandson of the grandson of *Shi Huan-fu*, Shu To-fu, made for the Lady Eldest sister Kiang...». K'ia 8: 15, drawing Huaimi, Hia 22.
- D 46. Kuei. »X-Ki-fu made for *Chung Kiang* the Lady Second sister Kiang...». Kukien 27: 25, drawing *ibid.*

- D 47. Hu. »Kü shu made for the Lady Second sister Kiang...». Kün 2/2: 54, ill. Chengts'iu 30.
- D 48. Kuei. »... Chung Kü-fu made for the Lady Second sister Kiang ... Po 16: 29, 31, 33 (3 vessels); drawing *ibid.*
- D 49. Hu. »Po Pang-fu made for *Shu Kiang* the Lady Third sister Kiang...». Shan 4: 48, drawings *ibid.*, our Pl. LI.
- D 49 a. Ting. »Ta-X made for the Lady Third sister Kiang...». Photo Shierkia 11: 21.
- D 50. Kuei. »In the King's 4th year, 8th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, San(?)-ki made as a bridal present for the Royal mother Lady Third sister Kiang...». Po 16: 24, drawing *ibid.*, also K'ao 3: 3.
- D 51. Kuei. »Po-X... made for *Ki Kiang* the Lady Youngest sister Kiang...». Po 21: 29, also K'ao 6: 9.
- D 52. Ih. »X po made for the Lady Youngest sister Kiang...». Kukien 32: 4, drawing *ibid.*
- D 53. Li. »Po Shang-fu made for the Lady Kiang...». Chengsung 4: 6, drawing Shan 3: 22.
- D 54. Kuei. »Po Po-fu made for *Chou Kiang* the Lady Kiang of Chou...». Kün 2/2: 28, drawing Po 16: 39, also K'ao 3: 19.
- D 55. Li. »The Lady 同 T'ung Kiang...». K'ia 17: 14, drawing T'ao 2: 58.
- D 56. Li. »The Lady 京 King Kiang...». Po 19: 18, drawing *ibid.*
- D 57. Ih. »Shu Hou-fu made for the Lady Kiang...». Chengsung 10: 33, drawing Shan 9: 36.
- D 58. Sü. »Ch'i made for the Lady Kiang X...». K'i 5: 32, drawing Shiliu 2: 9.
- D 59. Ting. »Mu-fu made for the Lady Kiang X-mu...». Chengsung, Pu shang 9, drawing Shan 2: 56.
- D 60. Tou. »The Lady Kiang 林母 Lin-mu made...». Sükia 13: 9, drawing *ibid.*

Clan Kuei¹ 媚。

- D 61. Ting. »La made the precious vessel ... the Lady Kuei¹ of X...». Chengsung, Pu shang 10, photo Senoku I: 3.

Clan Kuei⁴ 媚。

- D 62. Kuei. »Ts'uei (?) made for the Royal mother the Lady Kuei⁴...». Chengsung 5: 22, drawing Shan 8: 63.
- D 63. P'an. Same inscription as D 62. Chengsung 10: 26, drawing Shan 9: 53.
- D 64. Ih. Same inscription as D 62. Shan 9: 40, drawing *ibid.*
- D 65.* Ho. Same inscription as D 62. Chengsung, Sükia 26.

Clan Si 始 (始).

- D 66. Li. »會始 the Lady Si of Kuei made...». Chengsung, Pu shang 15, drawing Shan 3: 16. 會 Kuei may be equal to the city 會 Kuei, which prior to the Ch'un ts'iu era was an independent state.
- D 67. Ting. »Chung Shi-fu made for *Ki Si* the Lady Youngest sister Si...». K'i 2: 6, photo Mengwei, Shang 15.
- D 68. Ho. »Ki Liang-fu made for the Lady X Si...». K'ia 14: 23, drawing Heng 93, also Kukien 31: 35.
- D 69. Kuei. »Yi shu made for the Lady Si...». Kukien 13: 26, drawing *ibid.*

Clan Yao 委。

- D 69 a. Ting. »X shu Fan made for the Lady Yao of X...». Photo Shierkia 5: 6.

Clan Ying 鳩.

- D 70. Ting. »Lie ki made for the Lady Ying...». Wuying 24, photo *ibid*.
 D 71. Yu. »Ying Ki the Lady Youngest sister Ying made...». Picture postcard of the Palace Museum, Peking.

Clan Yün 雲 (妘).

- D 72. Fu. »Ki X-fu made for 女 Tsung Yün the principal consort, Lady Yün ...». K'i 5: 22; photo Shuangkien 11, also drawing Heng 91, P'anku, Shang 46, T'ao, Sü shang 42 and Kukien 29: 1.

II. Not illustrated bronzes.

Clan Yi.

- D 73. Kuei. »The Lady Third sister Yi...». K'i 3: 30

Clan Jen.

- D 74. Hien. »The Lady Kung Jen...». K'i 8: 6.

Clan Ki¹.

- D 75. Li. »... the Lady Eldest sister Ki¹...». Chengsung 4: 11.
 D 76. Ting. »In the 9th year, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai... the Lady Eldest sister Ki¹...». Kün 2/3: 27.
 D 77. Yi. »In the 1st month, on the day ki-hai... the Lady Eldest sister Ki¹...», Chengsung 4: 46.
 D 78. Fu. »... the Lady Second sister Ki¹...». K'i 17: 34.
 D 79. Sü. »... the Lady Second sister Ki¹...». K'ia 15: 24.
 D 80. P'an. »... the Lady Second sister Ki¹ K'o-mu...». Kün 2/2: 74.
 D 81. Ih. »... the Lady Second sister Ki¹...». K'ia 16: 20.
 D 82. Li. »... the Lady Third sister Ki¹...». Chengsung, Sü shang 26.
 D 83. Ting. »... the Lady Third sister Ki¹...». Kün 2/1: 20.
 D 84. Ting. »... the Lady Third sister Ki¹...». Kün 2/2: 23.
 D 85. Li. »... the Lady Third sister Ki¹...». K'ia 17: 15.
 D 86. Kuei. »... the Lady Youngest sister Ki¹...». Chengsung, Pu shang 25.
 D 87. Hu. »... the Lady Nei Ki¹...». K'ia 14: 16 (possibly we have to read Juei Ki, in which case the inscription should belong to cat. C above).
 D 88. Li. »The Lady K'i Ki¹...». Chengsung, Sü shang 25.
 D 89. Li. »The Lady Ki¹ Yin-mu...». Kün 2/1: 53.
 D 90. Li. »The Lady X-Ki¹...». Chengsung 4: 6.
 D 91. Li. »The Lady Ki¹...». K'ia 17: 17.
 D 92. Yi. »Made for the Lady Ki¹...». Chengsung 4: 40.
 D 93. »Kuei. »X Ki¹...». Kün 1/3: 44.
 D 94. Kuei. »... made for the Lady Ki¹...». Chengsung 5: 7.
 D 95. Kuei. »... made for the Lady X Ki¹...». Chengsung 5: 11.
 D 96. Kuei. »... made for the Lady X Ki¹...». Chengsung 5: 34.
 D 97. Kuei. »... made for the Lady Ki¹ of Nie...». Chengsung 5: 16.
 D 98. Kuei. »X Ki¹... made». K'ia 9: 3.
 D 99. Fu. »... the Lady Ki¹...». Chengsung 6: 30.
 D 100. Sü. »... the Lady Sü Ki¹...». Chengsung 6: 38.
 D 101. Kuei. »... the Royal Lady Ki¹...». K'i 16: 26.

- D 102.** Tsun, lid. »In the 1st month, on the auspicious day yi-ch'ou . . . the Lady P'ing Ki¹. . . ». K'i 8: 11.
- D 103.** Lei. »The Lady Nü Ki¹. . . ». Kün 2/2: 8.
- D 104.** Hu. » . . . made for the Lady Ki¹. . . ». K'ia 14: 17.
- D 105.** Hu. »The Lady Ki¹ of P'eng. . . ». K'i 18: 12.
- D 106.** P'an. » . . . made for the Lady X Ki¹. . . ». Kün 2/2: 65.
- D 107.** Ih. » . . . the Lady Shi Ki¹. . . ». Chengsung 10: 38.
- D 108.** Li. » . . . made for the Lady Ki¹ of Tsing and the Lady Youngest sister Kiang. ». Kün 2/1: 54.
- D 109.** Li. »The Lady X Ki¹ made for the Lady Third sister Kuei⁴. . . ». Kün 2/1: 61.

Clan Ki².

- D 110.** Kuei. »The Lady Ki² made. . . ». Kün 2/2: 64.
- D 111.** Chi. »Made for the Lady Ki². . . ». Chengsung 9: 24.
- D 112.** Sü. »The Lady Third sister Ki². . . ». K'ia 15: 25.
- D 113.** Ting. »The Lady Pa Ki². . . ». K'i 1: 19.
- D 114.** Kuei. » . . . the Lady Ki². . . ». K'ia 11: 24.
- D 115.** Kuei. » . . . the Lady Ki² of Lu. . . ». Chengsung 5: 10.
- D 116.** Ting. » . . . the Lady Ki² of Man. . . ». Chengsung 2: 37.

Clan Ki³.

- D 117.** Sü. » . . . the Lady Ki³. . . ». Chengsung 6: 40.
- D 118.** P'an. »In the King's 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, . . . the Lady Youngest sister Ki³. . . ». Chengsung 10: 30.
- D 119.** Ih. » . . . the Lady Ki³. . . ». Chengsung 10: 34.
- D 120.** Hu. »In the 26th year, 10th month, 1st quarter, on the day ki-mao, Kün-sheng of P'o (?) . . . eldest child, the Lady Eldest sister Ki³. . . ». Chengsung 7: 32.
- D 121.** Kuei. »The Lady Third sister Ki³. . . ». Kün 2/1: 52.

Clan Kiang.

- D 122.** Hien. »The Lady Eldest sister Kiang. . . ». Kün 2/1: 62.
- D 123.** Ih. »The Royal consort, the Lady Eldest sister Kiang of Ki. . . ». K'ia 16: 23.
- D 124.** Sü. » . . . the Lady Third sister Kiang. . . ». K'i 17: 31.
- D 125.** Hu. » . . . the Lady Third sister Kiang. . . ». Chengsung, Pu shang 36.
- D 126.** Ting. »The Lady X Kiang. . . ». Chengsung 2: 27.
- D 127.** Ih. » . . . the Lady X Kiang. . . ». K'i 8: 31.
- D 128.** Yu. » . . . gave cowries to the Lady Kiang. . . ». Chengsung 8: 28.

Clan Kuei⁴.

- D 129.** Ting. » . . . the Lady X Kuei⁴. . . ». K'i 16: 4.

Clan Si.

- D 130.** Kuei. » . . . the Lady Sin Si. . . ». K'ia 12: 21.

Clan Ts'ao.

- D 131.** Kuei. » . . . the Lady Ts'ao of Feng (or: Feng-Ts'ao?). . . ». Kün 2/1: 73.
- D 132.** Ting. » . . . the Lady Ts'ao Pi. . . ». Chengsung 2: 43.

Clan Ying.

- D 133.** P'an. »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-wu, . . . the Royal mother, Lady Ying. . . ». Chengsung 10: 29.

Clan Yün.

- D 134. Kuei. »Han Huang-fu made for the Lady Yün of Chou...». K'i 3: 30. Kuo Mo-jo (Tahi 141) repeats some extremely fanciful speculations of earlier writers, a. o. Wang Kuo-wei, about these names.
 D 135. Ih. »Han Huang-fu made for the Lady Yün of Chou...». K'i 8: 31.
 D 136. Ho. »... the Lady Yün...». Kün 2/2: 75.
 D 137. Li. »... the Lady Third sister Yün...». Kün 2/2: 9.

E. BRONZES WITH NAMES OF THE CHOU TIME X-FU TYPE.

I. Illustrated bronzes.

- E 1. Ting. »執父 Chi-fu made...». Sükia 1: 24, drawing *ibid.*
 E 2. Ho. »仲巵(師)父 Chung Shi-fu...». Kukien 31: 39, drawing *ibid.*
 E 3. Yu. »Chung Shi-fu (as E 2)...». Kukien 16: 5, drawing *ibid.*
 E 4. Kuei. »Chung Shi-fu (as E 2)...». Heng 38, drawing *ibid.*
 E 5. Kuei. »Chung Shi-fu (as E 2)...». Kukien 28: 10, drawing *ibid.*; photo Tch'ou XIII.
 E 6. Sü. »Chung Shi-fu (as E 2)...». T'ao 2: 50, drawing *ibid.*
 E 7. Ting. »仲義父 Chung I-fu...». Chengsung 3: 9, drawing Shan 2: 64.
 E 8. Ting. »Chung I-fu (as E 7)...». T'ao 1: 30, drawing *ibid.*
 E 9. Kuei. »仲鄭父 Chung Cheng-fu from X...». Po 17: 20, drawing *ibid.*
 E 10. An. »仲阪父 Chung Fan-fu...». Shan 9: 58, drawing *ibid.*
 E 11. Kuei, lid. »仲五父 Chung Wu-fu...». K'ia 8: 5, drawing Lianglei 6: 40, also Ch'angan 1: 22.
 E 12. Ting. »仲宦父 Chung Huan-fu...». T'ao, Sü shang 18, drawing *ibid.*
 E 13. Kuei, lid. »仲酉父 Chung Yu-fu...». Po 17: 26, drawing *ibid.*
 E 14. Kuei. »In the King's 1st month, 仲惠父 Chung Huei-fu...». Chengsung 5: 28, drawing Kukien 28: 8.
 E 15. Hu. »In the 6th month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, ... 仲○父 Chung X-fu...». K'ao 4: 53, drawing *ibid.*
 E 16. Li. »仲○父 Chung X-fu...». Po 19: 13, drawing *ibid.*
 E 17. Li. »仲○父 Chung X-fu...». Mengwei, Sü 7, photo *ibid.*
 E 18. Kuei. »仲○父 Chung X-fu...». Kün 1/3: 55, drawing Lianglei 6: 42, our Pl. XXXI.
 E 19. Kuei, lid. »仲○父 Chung X-fu...». K'ao 3: 21, drawing *ibid.*
 E 20. Ih. »甫人父 Fu Jen-fu...». Kün 2/1: 55, drawing Huaimi, Hia 11.
 E 21. Kuei. »續仲父 Huang Chung-fu...». Shan 8: 47, drawing *ibid.*
 E 22. Kia. »In the 1st year, 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day ting-hai, 嘉仲父 Kia Chung-fu...». Senoku II: 88, photo *ibid.*
 E 23. Kuei. »The son of prince X, 癸父甲 Kuei-fu Kia...». Süyi 12: 37, drawing *ibid.*
 E 24. Tsun. »Wei made for 季衛父 Ki Wei-fu...». Chengsung 7: 14, drawing Shan 4: 85.
 E 25. Yu. Same inscription as E 24. Umehara I: 78, photo *ibid.*
 E 26. Sü. »遣叔吉父 K'ien shu Ki-fu...». Shan 9: 15, drawing *ibid.*
 E 27. Kuei. »孟鄭父 Meng Cheng-fu...». Kün 2/2: 29; photo Paoyün 70, also drawing Süyi 12: 31.
 E 28. Kuei. »孟○父 Meng X-fu...». Chengsung 5: 12, drawing Shan 8: 59.

- E 29.** Hu. »孟○父 Meng X-fu...». Chengsung 7: 26, drawing Kukien 19: 16.
- E 30.** Ting. »孟○父 Meng X-fu...». Kün 1/3: 40, drawing Ch'angan 1: 10.
- E 31.** Sü, lid. »伯庶父 Po Shu-fu...». T'ao, Sü shang 45, drawing *ibid.*, photo Mengwei, Shang 18.
- E 32.** Hu. »Po Shu-fu (as E 31)...». Chengsung, Pu shang 37, drawing Sükia 8: 40; picture postcard of the Peking Palace Museum, our Pl. XXXV.
- E 33.** Fu. »伯其父 Po K'i-fu Lin...». K'i 17: 9, photo Mengwei, Sü 14.
- E 34.** Kuei. »伯田父 Po T'ien-fu...». K'i 3: 16, drawing T'ao 2: 1.
- E 35.** Ih. »伯正父 Po Cheng-fu...». Kün 2/2: 33, drawing Ch'angan 1: 29.
- E 36.** Ho. »伯衛父 Po Wei-fu...». Shan 9: 32, drawing *ibid.*
- E 37.** Kuei. »伯中父 Po Chung-fu...». Sükia 12: 42, drawing *ibid.*
- E 38.** Kuei. »In the 5th month, on the day jen-yin, Po Chung-fu (as E 37)...». T'ao, Sü shang 37, drawing *ibid.* (37 and 38 are very similar but not quite identical).
- E 39.** Ting. »...伯員父 Po Yüan-fu...». Sükia 1: 38, drawing *ibid.*
- E 40.** Kuei. »伯○父 Po X-fu...». Our Pl. XII, Oeder collection.
- E 41.** Ting. »伯○父 Po X-fu...». Chengsung, Pu shang 10, drawing Shan 3: 60.
- E 42.** Ting. »伯荀父 Po Sün-fu...». Chengsung 3: 6, drawing Kukien 2: 25, our Pl. XXXV.
- E 43.** Kuei. »伯○父 Po X-fu...». K'ia 12: 6, drawing Shan 8: 65.
- E 44.** Fu. »伯○父 Po X-fu...». K'ia 15: 16, drawing Sükia 13: 3.
- E 45.** Ting. »伯○父 Po X-fu...». Ishu 10: 62, ill. *ibid.*
- E 46.** Tsun. »On the day yi-mao, Po X-fu...». Kukien 9: 17, drawing *ibid.*
- E 47.** Fu. »伯○魚父 Po-x Yü-fu...». Chengsung 6: 25, drawing Shan 9: 3.
- E 48.** Kuei. »召父 Shao-fu...». Po 8: 18, drawing *ibid.*
- E 49.** Kuei. »事父 Shi-fu...». Chengsung, Sü shang 31, photo Sungchai 9.
- E 50.** Hu. »Shi-fu (as E 49)...». Sükia 8: 39, drawing *ibid.*
- E 51.** Sü. »師奐父 Shi Huan-fu...». K'ao 3: 36, drawing *ibid.*
- E 52.** Ting. »師器父 Shi K'i-fu...». K'i 16: 8, drawing Ch'angan 1: 7.
- E 53.** Kuei, lid. »史○父 Shi X-fu...». Po 17: 25, drawing *ibid.*
- E 54.** Hien. »In the 6th month, 1st quarter, Shi X-fu (as E 53)...». K'ao 2: 17.
- E 55.** Hien. »叔碩父 Shu Shi-fu...». K'ao 17: 5, drawing T'ao, Sü hia 3, our Pl. XLIX.
- E 56.** Tou. »叔賓父 Shu Pin-fu...». Shan 9: 19, drawing *ibid.*, our Pl. L.
- E 57.** Ih. »叔男父 Shu Nan-fu...». Heng 90, drawing *ibid.*
- E 58.** P'an. »叔五父 Shu Wu-fu...». Sükia 15: 4, drawing *ibid.*
- E 59.** Sü. »叔良父 Shu Liang-fu...». K'ao 3: 32, drawing *ibid.*
- E 60.** Kuei. »叔東父 Shu Sao-fu...». K'i 16: 23, drawing Sükia 6: 25.
- E 61.** Kuei. »叔○父 Shu X-fu...». Süyi 6: 34, drawing *ibid.*
- E 62.** Kuei. »叔○父 Shu X-fu, younger brother of 牧師父 Mu Shi-fu...». Chengsung 5: 37, drawing Shan 8: 76, photo of lid Shuangkien 15.
- E 63.** Yu. »衛父 Wei-fu...». K'ia 19: 18, drawing Heng 66, also P'anku, Shang 31, Kukien 15: 27.
- E 64.** Hien. »午字父 Wu Ts'i-fu...». Shan 3: 38, drawing *ibid.*
- E 65.** Tsun. »員父 Yüan-fu...». K'i 5: 6, photo Mengwei, Sü 24.
- E 66.** Kuei. »○父 X-fu...». Sükia 7: 1, drawing *ibid.*
- E 67.** Tsun. »...○父 X-fu...». Chengsung 7: 17, drawing Kukien 8: 39.
- E 68.** Yu. »○父 X-fu...». Chengsung, Pu chung 7, drawing Sükia 8: 7, picture postcard of the Peking Palace Museum.
- E 69.** Hu. »○父 X-fu...». Sükia 8: 40, drawing *ibid.*
- E 70.** Li. »○孜父 X Ts'i-fu...». K'ao 2: 7, drawing *ibid.*

- E 71. Ting. *... ○ 穀父 X Jung-fu.... Kün 2/2: 38, photo Shuangyü 7, also drawing Shan 2: 65.
- E 72. Kuei. *○ 白父 X Po-fu.... T'ao 2: 6, drawing *ibid*.
- E 73. Ting. *○ 駒父 X Kü-fu.... Po 3: 28, drawing *ibid*.
- E 74. Ting. *○ ○ 父 X X-fu.... Sükia 1: 23, drawing *ibid*.
- E 75. Kuei, lid. *叔友父 Shu Yu-fu.... Kün 2/1: 52, photo Shierkia 5: 20.
- E 76. Ting. *鮮父 Sien-fu.... Chengsung 2: 35, photo Shierkia 6: 3.
- E 77. Li. *季右父 Ki Yu-fu.... Chengsung, Pu shang 16, photo Shierkia 6: 5.

II. Not illustrated bronzes.

Since these are only of indirect (statistical) interest to our present study, I record them very briefly and without Chinese characters.

- E 78. Kuei: An-fu, Kün 1/3: 46; E 79. Kuei: Chung Chuei-fu, Chengsung 4: 42; E 80. Ting: Chung I-fu, Chengsung 2: 32; E 81. Ling: Chung I-fu, Chengsung 11: 6; E 82. Sü: Chung I-fu, Chengsung 6: 35; E 83. Ting: Chung Yu-fu, Chengsung 2: 42; E 84. Kuei: Chung Sin-fu, Chengsung 5: 40; E 85. Kuei: Chung Yin-fu, Chengsung 5: 27; E 86. Ting: Chung Yin-fu, Kün 2/2: 1; E 87. Ting: Chung Shi-fu, Kün 1/3: 4; E 88. Yi: Chung Ming-fu, K'i 17: 11; E 89. Hien: Chung Kung-fu, Chengsung 4: 20; E 90. Kuei: Chung X-fu, Chengsung, Pu shang 24; E 91. Li: Chung X-fu, Chengsung 4: 11; E 92. Ting: Fu po X-fu, Chengsung 3: 7; E 93. Kuei: »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, on the day keng-yin... Hia-fu, Kün 2/3: 70; E 94. Kuei: Ki X-fu, Chengsung, 5: 7; E 95. Kuei: Ki X-fu, Chengsung 5: 24; E 96. Kuei: Kü-fu, Kün 1/2: 77; E 97. Ting: Kin-fu, K'i 16: 18; E 98. Kuei: »In the King's 1st month, 4th quarter, on the day yi-mao, Kuan X-fu.... Chengsung 5: 35; E 99. Sü: Li shu Hing-fu, K'i 17: 29; E 100. Ting: Lü-fu, Chengsung 2: 34; E 101. Hu: Meng Shang-fu, K'i 6: 28; E 102. Ho: Po Kue-fu, K'i 18: 23; E 103. P'an: Po Hou-fu, Kün 2/2: 52; E 104. Yü: Po Kung-fu, Kün 2/2: 13; E 105. Ting: »In the 5th month, 2nd quarter, on the day keng-wu, Po Su-fu.... Kün 3/1: 36; E 106. Sü: Po Sün-fu, K'ia 15: 17; E 107. Hien: Po Sün-fu, K'ia 17: 5; E 108. Ih: Po Shu-fu, Kün 2/1: 30; E 109. Fu: Po Yung-fu, Chengsung 6: 30; E 110. Ting: Po Hiao-fu, Chengsung 3: 6; E 111. Kuei: Po Kia-fu, Chengsung 5: 43; E 112. Ting: Po Cheng-fu, Kün 2/1: 58; E 113. Hu: Po Lu-fu, Chengsung, Sü chung 12; E 114. Kuei: Po Yin-fu, Kün 1/3: 55; E 115. Kuei: Po X-fu, K'ia 8: 6; E 116. Kuei: Po X-fu, Chengsung 5: 9; E 117. Li: Po X-fu, Kün 2/2: 18; E 118. Ting: Shao-fu, K'i 16: 3; E 119. Kuei: Shu Hou-fu, K'ia 11: 14; E 120. Kuei: Shu P'i-fu, Chengsung 5: 39; E 121. Kuei: »In the 1st month, 1st quarter, Shu P'i-fu», K'i 3: 26; E 122. Ting: Shu Shi-fu, Kün 2/2: 79; E 123. Ting: Shu Shi-fu; E 123 A. Kuei: Shu X-fu, Chengsung 5: 9; E 124. Kuei: Shu X-fu, Kün 1/3: 55; E 125. Kuei: Shu P'eng-fu, K'ia 8: 10; E 126. Kuei: Shu Küe-fu, K'i 3: 16; E 127. Kuei: Shu Ts'ang-fu, Kün 1/3: 63; E 128. Sü: Shu Lo-fu, Chengsung, Sü chung 3; E 129. Sü: Shu Pin-fu, Kün 2/1: 77; E 130. Ting: Shu P'ang-fu, Kün 2/2: 2; E 131. Ting: Shu Yü-fu, Kün 2/1: 48; E 132. Hu: Shu ki Liang-fu, K'i 18: 13; E 133. Sü: Shi-chung Tsou-fu, Chengsung 6: 40; E 134. Ting: Si po Yü-fu, K'i 1: 26; E 135. Hien: Ts'i Pang-fu, K'ia 17: 6; E 136. Kuei: Yüan-fu, Kün 1/3: 55; E 137. Hien: X-fu, Kün 2/2: 10; E 138. Kuei: X-fu, Chengsung 5: 5; E 139. P'an: X-fu, K'i 8: 8; E 140. P'an: X-fu, K'ia, 16: 3; E 141. Ting: X-fu, Kün 1/3: 41; E 142. Ting: X-fu, Chengsung 2: 34; E 143. Ting: X-fu, Kün 2/1: 58; E 144. Ting: X-fu, Chengsung 3: 17; E 145. Tsun: X-fu, Chengsung 7: 14; E 146. Kuei: X Lin-fu, Kün 2/3: 10 (Kuo, Tahi 263 has an extravagant speculation about this); E 147. Ting: X X-fu, K'ia 6: 11.

THE STYLE CRITERIA.

So far we have worked exclusively with the inscriptions, without availing ourselves in the slightest degree of the evidence afforded by the vessels themselves, their type and decoration, for determining their chronology. On the strength of the inscriptions alone we have sorted 817 vessels, illustrations of which have been available to us, into various groups: One Yin group, comprising 337 vessels; one Royal Chou group from the first half of Western Chou (1122—947) comprising 64 vessels; one Royal Chou group from the second half of Western Chou (946—771) comprising 56 vessels; one Royal Chou group from Western Chou generally (1122—771 — no subdivision being feasible here) comprising 26 vessels; one Feudal Court group from Chou time generally (1122—256), the great majority however being decidedly (see p. 24) of Eastern Chou time (770—256), comprising 185 vessels; one Chou Clan Name group from Chou time generally (1122—256), but here again very largely from Eastern Chou time (770—256), comprising 72 vessels; one X-fu Name group, dating between 1122 and circa 400 B. C., comprising 77 vessels. We shall see below that some reductions have to be made owing to bad illustrations or indifferent vessels; yet we shall have, after all, 734 reliable cases, 303 of Yin time and 431 of Chou time.

This material is sufficiently comprehensive to allow of fairly definite conclusions being drawn from it. It is obvious that it forms but a part of the material actually existing in various collections in the Far East, Europe and America. But the great majority of still extant vessels with really important inscriptions, such as can afford a valuable clue to the dating, have undoubtedly been incorporated in one or other of the repertories drawn upon above. Accordingly, the conclusions we draw from our material composed of 734 good illustrated vessels are not likely to be fundamentally refuted by the subsequent examination of any vessels that may not have been published as yet. Certainly the bulk of the pertinent material has been taken into account here, considering the wide scope of the repertories listed on p. 17 above.

We now revert to the statement we made on p. 15 above: if we find that to the chronological categories just established by means of the inscriptions there correspond fairly clear and exact typological categories, so that the distinctions in time which the inscriptions indicate convey also distinctions in type and decoration, then we shall have decisive proof of the general authenticity of both the inscriptions and the vessels, and we can confidently continue to build further on the basis of materials thus collected and sorted in chronological categories, and elaborate a real chronology of the Chinese Bronze Age. Fortunately there does exist a correspondence of this kind between inscriptions and vessels. We find a long series of fundamentally important elements in type and decoration (cf. p. 116—120 below), which appear for the first time in the vessels with Chou time inscriptions and are never to be found in those with Yin time inscriptions. We

can even go a step further: the appearance of the new Chou style which was unknown in Yin time, can be dated with far greater precision; it was still unknown in the first half of Western Chou (1122—947), cat. B I, when there still existed universally an art of almost exactly the old Yin type, with but few modifications; the new art appears suddenly in the reign of the 6th king of the Chou, and it is entirely predominant during the second half of the Western Chou (946—771), cat. B II, having completely swept away the old art. This state of affairs cannot have been due to chance, nor to any systematic effort on the part of forgers who have worked for generations, isolated from each other and without the possibility of observing the laws of art history, which have never been explored before now. We have here the most incontrovertible evidence in favour of the authenticity of the best stock of Chinese archaic bronzes, and we shall now proceed to study them systematically in the light of the above-mentioned chronological grouping, which has been made possible by a study of their inscriptions.

Before so doing we should point out that we cannot make here more than a preliminary study. We seize upon a number of features which seem to us to furnish the safest and clearest criteria, easily observable features of form and decoration. A great number of other criteria have to be left out of account. Such are, in particular, some of those employed by students of art history: more or less clumsy and primitive types, as against more elegant and refined; strictness or severity, as against more baroque features; various shades of patina, and such-like.

If we do not work with criteria of this kind in the present article, it is not because we underestimate their value and importance. It is, in the first place, because they are rather the criteria of the art student, whereas we are working along more archæological lines; in the second place, because in nine cases out of ten we have to work not with the vessels themselves, which would enable us to study colour, patina, the finer details of the handicraft, but with illustrations only, and in a majority of cases not even with photographs but with more or less clumsy drawings. We are therefore forced to limit our investigations to more elementary, matter-of-fact and palpable criteria, such as certain types of elements: straight or curved legs, scale pattern, cicada pattern, rings standing on the lids, and so on, and to leave the study of the more subtle æsthetic distinctions to the professional art connoisseur.

These considerations lead us on to meet a general objection to our mode of study, which might seem very natural and very serious. It might be argued that, when it is a question of art and archæology, it is not permissible to draw any conclusions at all from materials to which we have access only through illustrations, photographs or drawings; that as long as we cannot handle the vessels themselves, observe their quality and finer details and thus form an opinion of their intrinsic value, their authenticity, their finer chronological criteria,

we should not pronounce any views about them at all. How can we know that an object which we find as a drawing in a Chinese catalogue is not a mere Sung or Ming copy passing for an archaic bronze? The clumsy drawings, which conceal all the subtle niceties, and which often misrepresent the vessels in one aspect or another, according to the draughtsman's subjective interpretation of them, are bound to be extremely risky and imperfect recorders of archaeological facts.

This objection might seem to be fatal, but it can be met by the following observations:

a) For deciding the question of authenticity we do *not* build on an examination of the drawings but on two criteria already discussed above: on the one hand the careful scrutiny and selection made by Chinese experts, who have studied the vessels themselves, a selection which we have made the basis of our collecting of materials (see p. 15 above); on the other hand and above all, the conformity between style distinctions and epigraphic period distinctions mentioned above (p. 86) and to be studied in detail below, a degree of conformity that would be inconceivable if it were not merely in isolated, exceptional cases that vessels proved to be modern forgeries.

b) In making use of the drawings of vessels in the Chinese repertoires we do not extract more from the materials than is allowable. Since they are merely drawings, not photographs, we never try to analyse the subtle niceties of the vessels but limit ourselves, as we remarked just now (p. 87), to such palpable criteria as even a clumsy drawing cannot misrepresent.

c) During our prolonged study of the Chinese repertoires side by side with the modern photographic albums we have had the opportunity of examining a great many vessels reproduced both in Chinese drawings and in photographs. This has been very instructive. Such a parallel study affords a surprising amount of experience and insight into what the Chinese draughtsmen really intend their drawings to represent. To the experienced eye, therefore, a drawing in a Chinese album says far more than to the uninitiated who casually glances at the album. In many cases the patient student can tell almost unfailingly what elements are really intended, and checking by means of a parallel photograph will nearly always confirm the correctness of his interpretation. The risk involved in taking the Chinese drawings as a basis for study is therefore by no means so great as it might appear to be, so long as the student really grasps the significance of the »laws of Chinese drawings».

d) Nevertheless, we have taken some necessary extra precautions. In the detailed analysis we give below of all the inscribed vessels which form our material the reader will often find cases in which we express some doubt: either the drawn vessel itself seems to us to be suspect (in spite of the fact that it has been admitted into a first-class repertoire), in which case we have frankly ventilated our misgivings; or the drawing has seemed to us to be so poor that we

have not ventured upon an interpretation of what it should represent, in which case we have invariably mentioned the fact.

e) Finally — and most important of all: we never, on principle, base any conclusions on an isolated drawing, since there will always be a risk of its representing a forged vessel. Throughout the following analysis we work with series of vessels; we establish general laws, based on a large number of examples. If we establish the fact that a characteristic of the Middle Chou style is a band of scales placed lengthwise, we adduce a series of 79 vessels, all with demonstrable Chou time inscriptions and having scales of that kind; even if it should prove that one or two of these vessels (in spite of having passed the scrutiny of the best Chinese experts) are in fact spurious, that cannot in any way prejudice our conclusion that such scales form a criterion of Middle Chou style. This statistical consideration is so important that we give complete lists of all our materials, in which every vessel is analysed as to its criteria, the latter being moreover indicated by special figures, which facilitates the reader's controlling at a glance the frequency of any given criterion.

The considerations expressed under a—e here should suffice, we think, to meet the objection that the materials of the drawn Chinese repertoires are not suitable for archæological conclusions.

In the article *Exhibition of Early Chinese Bronzes* (BMFEA 6) the style periods prior to Han that were provisionally established were four in number: Yin, Yin-Chou, Middle Chou and Huai. We can retain this classification, though largely attaching to these periods a different purport. Some of the period criteria established in that article are quite correct, and we are glad to be able to confirm them with a long series of definitely conclusive examples. But certain other criteria have turned out to be erroneous, and some vessels there placed in the Middle Chou category, for instance, have to be transferred to Yin or Yin-Chou time. For the details of these amendments see below.

In taking over the terms Yin, Yin-Chou, Middle Chou and Huai we must clearly indicate at the outset some important facts relating to the purport of these terms in the present work.

1) The distinction Yin: Yin-Chou is due to historical rather than to stylistic considerations. In fact, by the term Yin-Chou we shall indicate the art of the first half of the Western Chou epoch (the epoch 1122—947 B. C., see p. 28 above), and the term has to be interpreted thus: »That Chou time art which was still essentially the same as that of the Yin, with but small innovations». The reason why we do not prefer a term »Early Chou» is that »Early Chou» would more readily give the impression of a really new art, in contradistinction to that of the Yin. The term Yin-Chou suggests its character of an epigonous art.

2) The term Huai should not be misunderstood. It does not mean — and in our publications in the BMFEA it has never meant — »the art of the Huai

river valley». It means »the style of art, flourishing during the later half of the Chou and during the Ts'in dynasty, which, when first located with any certainty in any definite Chinese region, was attested in the Huai valley by Mr. Karlbeck». It is a convenient name, chosen according to a common archæological practice, a conventional denomination founded upon its *first* certain geographical location. And just as the Yang-shao culture — so called because Andersson first located it in Yang-shao of Honan — flourished quite as abundantly in Kansu as in Honan, so we can testify to the existence of the Huai style not only in Anhuei but equally well in Shantung, Shansi, Shensi etc.

3) The division into four periods, Yin, Yin-Chou, Middle Chou and Huai, is a very rough and summary division. It stands to reason that quite a large series of subdivisions is feasible. We could certainly distinguish between an earlier and a later phase of the Yin style, an earlier and later phase of the Middle Chou style. But only very rarely have we pointed out such facts in the present work; we have thought it advisable first of all to establish some more general laws and to limit the scope of our actual work to the determination of some fundamental criteria governing the great principal divisions. To the detailed questions of sub-divisions we hope to revert in another paper.

In the following analysis of the four periods we shall work exclusively with such elements as are distinctive, i. e. which form criteria of one style in contradistinction to another. Many important features of the archaic bronze art we shall therefore leave entirely out of consideration, since they occur in all periods. Such are, for instance, the arched-backed dragon (see e. g. Pl. XXV: B 155), the S-shaped dragon (Pl. XXV: B 153), animal's heads on the upper part of the legs of Ting tripods (Pl. I: A 2), animal's heads on the handles (Pl. XIII; A 304), small sectional flanges (Pl. III: A 246; very rare in Huai, yet existing), diagonal pattern (Pl. XLVIII: C 66), two or three parallel horizontal raised lines on the body or round the neck of the vessel (Pl. XXIII: A 67), rings in the handles (Pl. XLI: B 89) etc. What we claim to give is therefore not an all-round and exhaustive description of all elements characteristic of the archaic Chinese bronzes, but only an investigation of such easily observable elements as can serve to determine the attribution of a vessel to one or other of the above-mentioned four periods.

THE YIN STYLE.

The criteria of the Yin style, as revealed by the vessels A (1—337) with which we are concerned in the present paper, are the following 38 elements. Since we have to repeat them scores of times in the following pages, we need a short demomination for each criterion, consisting of a word or two only, and we shall place these catchwords at the head of each paragraph here. These denominations are of course not intended to be exhaustive; they are summary terms for practical use, and a reference is necessary to the fuller account of each criterion

here given. In the following pages all references by figures to these criteria are given in *italics*, in order to avoid confusion with the numbers of the vessels in the various groups (A 1, A 2 etc.).

1. »Square Ting».

This is the type of Ting with square body occurring e. g. in Pl. I: A 1, A 2; II: A 6; XXIX: A 5, A 9.

2. »Li-ting».

The Li and the Ting are in principle two entirely different vessels: the Ting has a hemispherical body (e. g. Pl. III: A 246); the Li originates from three pointed-bottomed vessels combined into one (Pl. V: A 196), and therefore has three cavities going down into the three legs. Now there exists a hybrid form, which is not quite hemispherical but has three distinct shallow depressions above the three legs, yet without having the upper part of the legs hollow, as the regular Li has. This hybrid we shall call »Li-ting». Pl. II: A 24; III: A 28.

3. »Yu».

The Yu type of vessel, Pl. XX: A 56; XXIII: A 67, A 287; XXIV: A 226; XXX: A 289, A 223.

4. »Ku» and »Tsun».

The Ku and Tsun, types of vessel. We have placed both these types of vessel under one heading, since there is really no fixed line of demarcation between them: some fairly stout Ku could equally well be called Tsun; some slender Tsun are on the verge of being Ku. We can consider Ku and Tsun to be two varieties of one fundamental type of vessel. Some forms also come very near to what is called Chi. Pl. XVII: A 269, A 107; XIX: A 283, A 219, A 124; XXI: A 108; XXII: A 110; XXXI: A 216; XXXII: A 122, A 208.

5. »Yi».

The Yi type of vessel, Pl. XVIII: A 54.

6. »Tsüe» (with »Kia»).

The Tsüe type of vessel; we include in this group also the very closely allied Kia type of vessel. Pl. IX: A 159; X: A 170; XXX: A 241.

7. »Kuang».

The Kuang type of vessel, Pl. XXXII: A 48.

8. »Cylinder legs».

Straight, cylindrical legs on the Ting tripods. Pl. I: A 1, A 2; II: A 6, A 24; III: A 28, 246; IV: A 247; V: A 20; VI: A 38; XXIX: A 5, A 11, A 9.

9. »Supporting animals».

This somewhat vague denomination indicates something very special. There is a certain type of Ting which for legs has free-sculptured dragons or birds, placed vertically so as to support the body of the vessel, and holding it in their mouths. Pl. VII: A 12, A 193; XXIX: A 39.

10. »Lid knobs».

The Kuei, Yi and certain kindred types of vessel, which have lids with a handle in the middle, have two types of handles. One is a round disc (Pl. XX: A 56), which occurs in various periods and hence is not taken here as a criterion; the other (our crit. 10) is a real knob, either spherical or peaked in one way or another. Pl. XVIII: A 54, XXIII: A 287, XXIV: A 226; XXX: A 289, A 92.

11. »Bottle horns».

The animal's heads on the handles, particularly on those of the Kuei vessels, vary widely in both type and form. Some of them have bottle-shaped horns. Pl. XX: A 56; XXXII: A 48.

12. »Spikes».

On the surface of the vessel's body there are more or less protruding bosses, spike-like projections (to be distinguished from the »nipples» on the Chung bells of later periods). Pl. I: A 1, A 2; V: A 20; XXIX: A 5; XXXI: A 300.

13. »Segmented flanges».

There are a great many vessels which have their bodies divided in fields or panels by vertical keel-like flanges, either running from top to bottom along the whole vessel, or only over one of its horizontal sections. Such flanges are sometimes adorned with scores or notches, which give an impression of regular segments. Our group 13 has in view such segmented keel-like flanges. Pl. I: A 1, A 2; II: A 6; III: A 246; VI: A 38; VII: A 193; XIX: A 124, A 219; XXII: A 110; XXIII: A 287; XXIX: A 5, A 9; XXX: A 241; XXXII: A 122, A 208.

14. »Free animal's head».

An extremely common decorative element is the animal's head, which either crowns the upper part of a handle (we take no account of this, since it is not distinctive of periods), or is placed on the body, mostly on the neck but sometimes on the lower part, emerging as a free-sculptured, plastic element. It sometimes resembles an ox's head, sometimes a ram's, sometimes a hare's, sometimes it has practically the features of the T'ao-t'ie mask (see 15 below). It should

be emphasized that the present group 14 has not in view the animal's head adorning the *foot* of a Kuei, or even forming such a foot (cf. 51 below). The distinctive characteristic here is that it is a »free animal's head», i. e. it is not worked into a handle or a foot but stands out as an independent and free decorative element. Pl. IX: A 159; X: A 170; XI: A 302; XIII: A 304; XIV: A 294; XV: A 293; XX: A 56; XXIV: A 226; XXVI: A 86; XXIX: A 43; XXX: A 289, A 91, A 92; XXXI: A 135, A 300.

15. »T'ao-t'ie».

This somewhat unfortunate term, foolishly introduced by the Sung time archaeologists, is so current in literature about Chinese bronzes that we had better maintain it. What the t'ao-t'ie mask was originally it is difficult to trace. We may hazard a guess that it is a dragon's head and conveys the idea of fecundity and fertility inherent in the dragon symbol (Cf. Karlgren, BMFEA II, p. 36, 37). That the dragon's head is sometimes akin to that of an ox is no obstacle — the dragon was varied in several ways; it therefore often very closely resembles the animal's head dealt with in 14 above.

There is great variety in the execution of the T'ao-t'ie.

The horns are of three principal kinds: straight: , C-shaped: , and C-shaped and drawn out in a point: . The first is particularly common on Hien vessels, and often outlined in very realistic fashion.

The eyes are either round or drawn so as to show the corner of the eye:  or .

The face is sometimes divided into two halves by utilizing the sectional flange (see 13 above) as a nose; in that case the bottom is generally marked by nostrils: . When the face is not so divided, it has various curious figures in the forehead, and particularly often a lozenge: . The lips are generally curled up, and there are often tusks visible. Sometimes, though seldom, claws flank the lower part of the t'ao-t'ie head. The ears are mostly extended into points.

It is a very common trick to place other animals, and particularly the »trunked dragon» (see 19 below), antithetically, so as to form together a t'ao-t'ie. The trunks of the two »trunked dragons» thus combined go to form the nose of the t'ao-t'ie, and their eyes are at the same time the eyes of the t'ao-t'ie.

The t'ao-t'ie occurs in an infinite series of varieties, from the most realistic animal's head to the most conventionalized, vague figure, sometimes so dissolved into geometrical designs that only the symmetrically placed eyes can help us to detect it. For some variants of the t'ao-t'ie see Pl. II: A 6, A 24; III: A 28, A 246; IV: 247; VI: A 38; VII: A 193; VIII: A 260; IX: A 159; X: A 170; XIV: A 145; XVIII: A 54; XIX: A 124, A 283, A 219; XXI: A 108; XXII: A 110; XXIII: A 287; XXVII: A 181; XXVIII: A 178; XXIX: A 5; XXX: A 223 (made of 27), A 241, A 91; XXXI: A 216, A 135, A 300 (very dissolved, made of 27); XXXII: A 122, A 48, A 208.

16. »Common bird».

There are several shapes of birds on Chinese bronzes, and their types are sometimes of distinctive importance. By the term »common bird» — in contradistinction to »tail-raising bird» (41 below) — we mean either the naturalistic type with fairly short tail, or the more or less stylized type with very long, extended, mainly horizontal tail: I: A 2; VIII: A 260; XIX: A 124; XX: A 56; XXX: A 92; XXXII: A 48.

17. »Gaping dragon».

This is the ordinary »Yin dragon». It varies considerably in so far as it is sometimes long drawn-out and thin, sometimes short and sturdy with forceful jaws. There is a curious phenomenon connected with the lower jaw: it sometimes coalesces with the front paw, so as to leave the upper jaw alone, looking like a kind of bird's beak: Pl. I: A 1; II: A 6; V: A 20; VI: A 38; VII: A 12; XI: A 302; XXIII: A 287; XXX: A 91; XXXII: A 48.



18. »Vertical dragon».

This is very closely akin to the »gaping dragon», but has the peculiarity that it is placed vertically, head downwards, flanking a t'ao-t'ie. Pl. II: A 24; III: A 28.

19. »Trunked dragon».

This animal seems to be a hybrid form between a dragon and an elephant. There are some quite realistic elephants on both Yin and Yin-Chou vessels, and we could perhaps have added the elephant to our list of criteria; we have not done so because of their limited number. The trunked dragon has his trunk lowered, and mostly two such dragons placed antithetically go to make up the central part of a t'ao-t'ie, the trunks forming its nose. The hind part of this trunked dragon is often raised vertically very high: Pl. II: A 6; III: A 246; VI: A 38; XVIII: A 54; XIX: A 219; XXIX: A 9.



20. »Winged dragon».

This may be something of a misnomer. This dragon is similar to the »gaping dragon» but is distinguished from it by having double length-wise strokes.

Some variants show that the upper stroke may really have been intended to depict a wing: Pl. VII: A 193; XI: A 302; XXIX: A 11; XXXI: A 135.



21. »Feathered dragon».

This, for want of a better short name, is what we call a very peculiar dragon-like animal with turned head and vertical fringed strokes, presumably feathers(?): XX: A 56; XXIV: A 226.

22. »Snake».

Snake. Pl. IX: A 159; XIII: A 304; XIV: A 145; XIX: A 124; XXXII A 122, 208.

23. »Cicada».

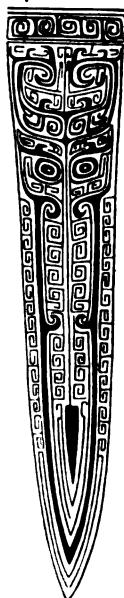
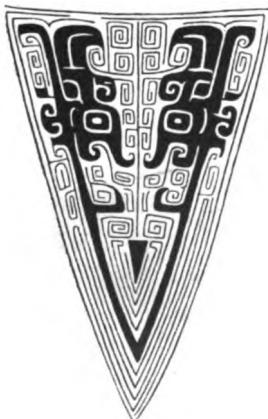
The cicada varies from a very realistic to the most conventionalized and dissolved shape. It passes, by degrees into the »blades» of 24—26 below. The strictly realistic cicada is not very common in our present material. There are several very good examples on bronzes from An-yang brought to Europe recently by Karlbeck. The realistic cicada is illustrated in Pl. XVI: B 41. More or less stylized yet still quite recognizable cicadas occur in Pl. X: A 170; XXIX: A 9 (= 25); XXXII: A 122, A 208.

24. »Rising blade».

The cicada, drawn out into a kind of leaf or blade, or stylized into a triangular or scutiform figure, is extremely common; in 24 we have it pointing upwards: Pl. XI: A 302; XIX: A 283, A 219; XXII: A 110; XXX: A 289, A 241; XXXII: A 122, A 208.

25. »Hanging blade».

The same original cicada conventionalized into a blade or scutiform figure, pointing downwards: Pl. XXVIII: A 187; XXIX: A 9 (= 23); XXX: A 91, 92. We give here some examples showing variants of the cicada-blade.

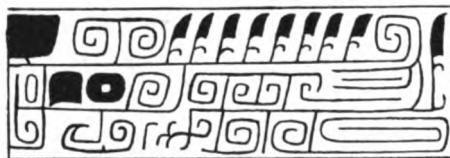


26. »Leg blade».

The cicada-blade is very often applied with fine effect to the legs, especially of the Ting and Tsüe vessels. Pl. II: A 6; V: A 20; VI: A 38; X: A 170; XXIX: A 11, A 9.

27. »Animal triple band».

This is a most curious decorative element. It is a band in three horizontal sections, which upon close examination turn out to be an extremely dissolved animal shape: in some of its best variants you can still discern a row of wing-quills at the top, and an animal's eye: IX: A 159; XXIX: A 39; XXX: A 223 XXXI: A 300.



28. »Scaled animal».

Already on the An-yang carvings there are frequently simple scales filling the bodies of animals. These recur in the Yin bronzes. They should be carefully distinguished from the scales of 55 and 56 below. Pl. I: A 2; IX: A 159; X: A 170; XXXII: A 208.

29. »Spiral filling».

Under this heading we have brought together various elements which are really very heterogeneous but are intimately connected by their function of filling up the ground between the figures of the decoration. They are simple spirals, C-shaped spirals, S-shaped spirals, T-shaped spirals: , , , .

They occur varied in several ways: with only one slight, open curve, sometimes hardly deserving the name of »spiral» but incorporated in our scheme here because of the functional connection with the rest; or with two or more bends: , , , etc.

Another variant is that they are either round, angular (square or lozenge-shaped), extended into points or pronged: , , , , etc.

Some of these variants have earlier been named *lei-wen* »the thunder pattern»; this is again, like the *t'ao-t'ie*, a somewhat risky Sung-time speculation, and we prefer to combine the whole series under the simple name of »spirals». Pl. I: A 1, A 2; II: A 6, A 24; III: A 28, A 246; V: A 20; VI: A 38; IX: A 159; XI: A 302; XIV: A 294; XVIII: A 54; XIX: A 124, A 283; XX: A 56; XXI: A 108; XXII: A 110; XXIII: A 287; XXIV: A 226; XXIX: A 5, A 11, A 9; XXX: A 289, A 241, A 91, A 92; XXXI: A 216; XXXII: A 122, A 48, A 208.

30. »Spirals on figures».

The same spirals as those just discussed under 29 sometimes occur as fillings for the bodies of animals or other figures forming the décor. Pl. II: A 6, A 24; III: A 28, 246; VI: A 38; VII: A 193; IX: A 159; XIV: A 145; XVIII: A 54; XXIII: A 287; XXX: A 91.

31. »Spiral band».

This is a horizontal band round the neck or the base of the vessel filled with one or other of the spiral variants mentioned under 29. Pl. II: A 6, A 24, A 28; XV: A 293; XXX: A 91; XXXII: A 80.

32. »Compound lozenges».

Lozenges combined to form a large pattern filling a surface. The lozenges are sometimes empty, sometimes filled with rectangular spirals (29) or such-like figures. Pl. I: A 1, A 2; V: A 20; XIII: A 304; XXIX: A 43; XXX: A 289, A 223; XXXI: A 300.

33. »Interlocked T's».

The stem of each T goes to form one half of the top of the next T: Pl. XI: A 302; XXIX: A 5.

34. »Circle band».

A narrow band formed of two parallel lines filled with small circles. Pl. XIV: A 294; XV: A 293; XVII: A 107; XXIV: A 226; XXIX: A 5; XXX: A 289, A 223.

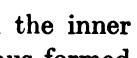
35. »Whorl circle».

Low, flat bosses, sometimes mere incised circles, with spirals curling in towards the centre. Sometimes the spirals are replaced by small circles: IX: A 159; XIII: A 304; XXVI: A 86; XXVIII: A 187; XXX: A 241, A 92.

36. »Vertical ribs».

Parallel, vertical, raised bands, lying as a kind of ribs, sometimes rounded (convex), sometimes flat, on the body. To be carefully distinguished from 54 below. Pl. XX: A 56.

37. »T scores».

The scores in the segmented flanges (13 above) are often finished on the inner side with a transversal score, straight or slightly curved. The figure thus formed occurs not only on the flanges but also as an independent décor motif:  Pl. I: A 1, A 2; II: A 6; III: A 246; VI: A 38; XIX: A 124; XXIII: A 287; XXIX: A 9; XXX: A 92.

38. »Square with crescents».

This flower-like ornament should more exactly be defined as a crescent-cornered quadrilateral. Pl. XVII: A 269; XXII: A 110; XXIV: A 226.

We shall now pass in review our 337 vessels with Yin time inscriptions and record the occurrence in them of these 38 criteria.

- A 1.** Ting. Wuying 1, our Pl. I. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 12 spikes; 13 segmented flanges; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 32 compound lozenges; 37 T scores.
- A 2.** Ting. Wuying 4, our Pl. I. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 12 spikes; 13 segmented flanges; 16 common bird; 28 scaled animal (horns); 29 spiral filling; 32 compound lozenges; 37 T scores.
- A 3.** Ting. Paoyün 15, also Süyi 4: 11. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 22 snake; 26 leg blades; 28 scaled animal; 29 spiral filling.
- A 4.** Ting. Shan 3: 3. 3 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 27 animal triple band.
- A 5.** Ting Kukien 4: 12, our Pl. XXIX. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 12 spikes; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 33 interlocked T's; 34 circle band.
- A 6.** Ting. Wuying 6, our Pl. II, probably same as Po 1: 17. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 19 trunked dragon; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band (at the base of the body); 37 T scores.
- A 7.** Ting. Po 1: 16. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- A 8.** Ting. Shan 3: 2. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 26 leg blades.
- A 9.** Ting. T'ao, Sü shang 15, our Pl. XXIX. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 19 trunked dragon; 23 cicadas forming 25 hanging blades; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- A 10.** Ting. Po 1: 19. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 19 trunked dragon; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- A 11.** Ting. Shan 3: 39, our Pl. XXIX. 8 cylinder legs; 20 winged dragon; 26 leg blades (very stylized); 29 spiral filling.
- A 12.** Ting. Umehara II: 94, our Pl. VII, Stoclet collection. 9 supporting animals; 17 gaping dragon. (Also a beginning of 40 hook projections).
- A 13.** Ting. Shan 2: 21. 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie badly dissolved; 29 spiral filling.
- A 14.** Ting. Kukien 1: 5. 8 cylinder legs; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle; 38 square with crescents.
- A 15.** Ting. Sükia 1: 1. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 16.** Ting. Shan 2: 14. This vessel goes stark against the general rules of cat. A. It has the following criteria of Middle Chou style treated below: 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band. In all likelihood the vessel is spurious.
- A 17.** Ting. Kukien 4: 11. Too badly drawn to be relied on.
- A 18.** Ting. Kukien 1: 14. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band.
- A 19.** Ting. Kukien 1: 28. 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 22 snake; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.

- A 20.** Ting. Mengwei, Sü 2, our Pl. V. 8 cylinder legs; 12 spikes; 17 gaping dragon; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling; 32 compound lozenges.
- A 21.** Ting. Umehara II: 89. McLeod collection. 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- A 22.** Ting. Kukien 4: 15. 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- A 23.** Ting. T'ao 1: 26. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- A 24.** Ting. Wuying 10, our Pl. II. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 25.** Ting. Süyi 1: 42. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 26.** Ting. Photo Paoyün 11, also Süyi 2: 4. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 27.** Ting. Kukien 1: 25. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 28.** Ting. Mengwei, Sü 4, our Pl. III. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 29.** Ting. Chengts'iu 2. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band.
- A 30.** Ting. Photo Wuying 13. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 31.** Ting. Photo Senoku I: 1. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 32.** Ting. Huaimi 5. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 33.** Ting. Shan 2: 54. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 34.** Ting. Po 1: 32. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band.
- A 35.** Ting. Photo Wuying 17. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 27 animal triple band.
- A 36.** Ting. Photo Shierkia 11: 7. 8 Cylinder legs.
- A 37.** Ting. Heng 5. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band.
- A 38.** Ting. Our Pl. VI, Lundgren collection, Stockholm. 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 18 vertical dragon; 19 trunked dragon; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- A 39.** Ting. Shan 2: 4, our Pl. XXIX. 9 supporting animals; 27 animal triple band (very dissolved).
- A 40.** Ting. Sükia 1: 33. 9 supporting animals; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- A 41.** Li. Po 19: 6. 20 winged dragon; 29 spiral filling. Rather badly drawn.
- A 42.** Li. Ningshou 12: 27. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 43.** Li. Shan 3: 26, our Pl. XXIX. 14 free animal's head; 32 compound lozenges.
- A 44.** Hien. Photo Shuangkien 10. 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- A 45.** Hien. Kukien 30: 14. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 27 animal triple band (very dissolved).
- A 46.** Hien. Po 18: 25. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 23 cicadas stylized into 25 hanging blades; 27 animal triple band (very dissolved); 29 spiral filling.
- A 47.** Hien. Heng 98, also P'anku, Hia 39. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 27 animal triple band.
- A 48.** Kuang. T'ao 3: 34, our Pl. XXXII. 7 Kuang; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 16 common bird; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling.

- A 49.** Yi. Kukien 13: 6. 5 Yi; 10 lid knob; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- A 50.** Yi. Freer Gallery. 5 Yi; 10 lid knob; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 51.** Yi. Kukien 13: 4. 5 Yi; 10 lid knob; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- A 52.** Yi. Kukien 14: 2. 5 Yi; 10 lid knob; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- A 53.** Yi. Kukien 13: 7. 5 Yi; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 54.** Yi. Our Pl. XVIII. Belonging to Messrs. Bluett & Son. 5 Yi; 10 lid knob; 19 trunked dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- A 55.** Yi. Photo Yechung 15. 5 Yi; 10 lid knob; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- A 56.** Yu. Freer Gallery, our Pl. XX, same in T'ao 2: 34. 3 Yu; 11 bottle horns; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 21 feathered dragon; 29 spiral filling; 36 vertical ribs.
- A 57.** Yu. Photo Haiwai 42. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 11 bottle horns; 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; 36 vertical ribs.
- A 58.** Yu. Photo Yechung 20. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 32 compound lozenges; 34 circle band.
- A 59.** Chi. Photo Yechung 25. No distinctive features.
- A 60.** Yu. K'ao 4: 25. 3 Yu; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band; 32 compound lozenges. Poor drawing.
- A 61.** Yu. K'ao 4: 15. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head.
- A 62.** Yu. Kukien 16: 30. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 21 feathered dragon; 29 spiral filling.
- A 63.** Yu. Sükia 8: 9. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 17 gaping dragon; 34 circle band. Poor drawing.
- A 64.** Yu. Our Pl. XXVI, Freer Gallery. 3 Yu; 13 segmented flanges; 16 common bird; 17 gaping dragon; 36 vertical ribs.
- A 65.** Yu. Po 10: 24. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head.
- A 66.** Yu. Kukien 15: 25. Drawing too bad to be relied upon.
- A 67.** Yu. Our Pl. XXIII. Belonging to Messrs. Bluett & Son. 3 Yu. A very interesting vessel: Hu-shaped and yet with a Yu handle.
- A 68.** Yu. Po 11: 10. 3 Yu; 21 feathered dragon; 34 circle band.
- A 69.** Yu. Kukien 16: 33. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon.
- A 70.** Yu. Kukien 16: 22. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 34 circle band. Poor drawing.
- A 71.** Yu. Shan 4: 18. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; some kind of dragon, too badly drawn to be recognizable.
- A 72.** Yu. Photo Paoyün 98, also Süyi 8: 8. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 22 snake; 29 spiral filling.
- A 73.** Yu. Shan 4: 24. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling. Poor drawing.
- A 74.** Yu. Shan 4: 32. 3 Yu; 11 bottle horns; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 32 compound lozenges.
- A 75.** Chi. Photo Shuangkien 47. No distinctive features.
- A 76.** Chi. Huaimi, Shang 29. 27 animal triple band.

- A 77.** Chi. Shiliu 2: 15. No distinctive features.
- A 78.** Chi. Po 16: 14. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 79.** Chi. Shan 5: 48. 31 spiral band.
- A 80.** Chi. T'ao 3: 29, our Pl. XXXII. 31 spiral band.
- A 81.** Hu. Sükia 5: 19. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 82.** Hu. Kukien 18: 1. 27 animal triple band.
- A 83.** Hu. Photo Paoyün 84, also Süyi 8: 39. 15 t'ao-t'ie (very dissolved); 31 spiral band.
- A 84.** Chi. Kukien 26: 9. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 85.** Lei. Huaimi, Shang 9. 13 segmented flanges; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 19 trunked dragon; 20 winged dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- A 86.** Lei. Umehara II: 130, our Pl. XXVI. Seligman collection. 14 free animal's head; 35 whorl circle.
- A 87.** Lei. Shan 4: 40. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 23 cicadas turned into 25 hanging blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 35 whorl circle.
- A 88.** Lei. Kukien 19: 14. 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 19 trunked dragon; 25 hanging blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 89.** Lei. Shan 4: 39. Drawing too primitive.
- A 90.** Lei. Huaimi, Shang 8. 13 segmented flanges; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 19 trunked dragon; 20 winged dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band; 37 T scores.
- A 91.** Lei. T'ao, Sü hia 5, our Pl. XXX. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon 25 hanging blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 92.** Lei. Chengts'iu 29, our Pl. XXX. 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 25 hanging blades; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band; 35 whorl circle.
- A 93.** Tsun. Photo Paoyün 99, also Süyi 5: 3. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling(?).
- A 94.** Tsun. Po 6: 12. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 95.** Tsun. Photo Paoyün 103, also Süyi 5: 18. 4 Tsun, 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades.
- A 96.** Tsun. Kukien 8: 38. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling. Poor drawing.
- A 97.** Tsun. Shan 4: 80. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie made of 19 trunked dragon; 29 spiral filling.
- A 98.** Tsun. Shan 4: 59. 4 Tsun; 38 square with crescents.
- A 99.** Tsun. Shan 4: 87. 4 Tsun.
- A 100.** Ku. Ningshou 10: 21. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- A 101.** Ku. Huaimi, Shang 15. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- A 102.** Ku. Shan 4: 67. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- A 103.** Tsun. Kukien 10: 11. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 104.** Ku. Oeder collection. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 22 snake; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 105.** Ku. Photo Paoyün 113, also Süyi 5: 20. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 106.** Ku. Shan 5: 35. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 22 snake; 24 rising blades.
- A 107.** Ku. Mrs. Holmes collection, our Pl. XVII. 4 Ku; 34 circle band.
- A 108.** Tsun. Our Pl. XXI, National Museum, Stockholm. 4 Tsun. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- A 109.** Tsun. Kukien 8: 35. 4 Tsun; 13 segmented flanges; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 18 vertical dragon; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores. Poor drawing.

- A 110.** Ku. Wuying 133, our Pl. XXII. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 38 square with crescents.
- A 111.** Ku. Kukien 23: 26. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 112.** Ku. Kukien 24: 4. 4 Ku; 34 circle band; for the rest drawing too indistinct.
- A 113.** Ku. T'ao 3: 26. 4 Ku; 29 spiral filling.
- A 114.** Ku. Royal Scottish Museum. 4 Ku; 15 T'ao-t'ie.
- A 115.** Ku. Po 15: 35. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 116.** Ku. Illustrated London News No. 5005 (vase from An-yang). 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 117.** Ku. Photo Umehara, Henkin no kōkogaku teki kōsatsu Pl. XVII, same as T'ao 1: 8 (Altar set in Metropolitan Museum of Art). 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 22 snake; 24 rising blades.
- A 118.** Ku. Ningshou 10: 20. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band.
- A 119.** Ku. Photo Umehara I: 53, Mrs. Christian Holmes collection. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 22 snake; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 120.** Ku. Kukien 24: 24. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- A 121.** Ku. Ningshou 10: 19. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 122.** Ku. Shan 5: 14, our Pl. XXXII. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 22 snake; 23 cicada; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 123.** Ku. Po 15: 28. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 124.** Ku. Senoku II: 90, our Pl. XIX. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 16 common birds; 22 snake; 24 rising blades; 28 scaled animal; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band; 37 T scores.
- A 125.** Ku. T'ao 3: 27. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie (very dissolved); 29 spiral filling.
- A 126.** Ku. Shan 5: 44. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band; 15 t'ao-t'ie in a very unusual variant (made up of two snake-dragons facing each other) — the drawing may be unsatisfactory.
- A 127.** Kuei. Heng 42, also P'anku, Shang 37. 13 segmented flanges; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 19 trunked dragon; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- A 128.** Square Kuei. Picture postcard series of the Peking Palace Museum. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon.
- A 129.** Kuei. K'ao 4: 44. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 130.** Kuei. Photo Shuangkien 18. 14 free animal's head; 32 compound lozenges.
- A 131.** Kuei. Photo Sungchai 7. No distinctive features.
- A 132.** Po 6: 25. No distinctive features.
- A 133.** Kuei foot. Photo Mengwei, Shang 19. No distinctive features.
- A 134.** Kuei. Shan 8: 19. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 35 whorl circle; 37 T scores.
- A 135.** Kuei. Chengts'iu 14, our Pl. XXXI. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 20 winged dragon.
- A 136.** Kuei. Ningshou 6: 8. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 137.** Kuei. BMFEA 6, Pl. XVII, belongs to Mr. E. Trygger. 14 free animal's head; 27 animal triple band.
- A 138.** Kuei. Ch'angan 1: 16, also P'anku, Shang 26. 12 spikes (apparently); 14 free animal's head; 31 spiral band; 34 circle band.

- A 139.** Kuei. Kukien 13: 2. 14 free animal's head; 27 animal triple band.
- A 140.** Kuei. Shan 8: 15. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie made of 27 animal triple band.
- A 141.** Kuei. Sükia 6: 36. 14 free animal's head; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling.
- A 142.** Kuei. Photo Umehara II: 109. Buckingham collection. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 21 feathered dragon (somewhat abbreviated); 29 spiral filling; for the rest indistinct photo.
- A 143.** Kuei. Photo Wuying 56. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 20 winged dragon; 29 spiral filling.
- A 144.** Kuei. Photo Senoku I: 37. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie (?); 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 33 interlocked T's.
- A 145.** Kuei. Wuying 40, our Pl. XIV. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 22 snake; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 146.** Kuei. Kukien 13: 17. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 18 vertical dragon.
- A 147.** Tsüe. Photo Umehara I: 63, Ford collection. Umehara expresses certain doubts about this vessel. 6 Tsüe; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 148.** Tsüe. T'ao, Sü hia 11. 6 Tsüe; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling. (This is not the same vessel as A 147, though they are very similar).
- A 149.** Tsüe. Photo Mengwei, Shang 43, also T'ao 3: 13. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 35 whorl circle.
- A 150.** Tsüe. Shan 7: 60. 6 Tsüe; 11 bottle horns; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie (very dissolved); 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 151.** Tsüe. Kukien 26: 47. 6 Tsüe; 11 bottle horns; 13 segmented flanges (?); 15 t'ao-t'ie (badly dissolved); 26 leg blades.
- A 152.** Tsüe. Shan 6: 52. 6 Tsüe; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle; probably a 15 t'ao-t'ie, the elements of which are not sufficiently visible in the drawing.
- A 153.** Tsüe. K'ao 5: 8. 6 Tsüe; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
- A 154.** Tsüe. Photo Sungchai 19. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie (very dissolved).
- A 155.** Tsüe. Photo Umehara I: 5, same as T'ao 1: 11, altar set of the Metropolitan Museum. 6 Tsüe; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 26 leg blades; 28 scaled animal; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band.
- A 156.** Tsüe. Photo Senoku II: 76. 6 Tsüe; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 157.** Tsüe. Shan 6: 70. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie (very dissolved); 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
- A 158.** Tsüe. Illustrated London News No. 5009 (vessel found at An-yang). 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 35 whorl circle.
- A 159.** Tsüe. Our Pl. IX, Seligman collection. 6 Tsüe; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-tie; 22 snake; 27 animal triple band; 28 scaled animal; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 35 whorl circle.
- A 160.** Tsüe. Shan 6: 58. 6 Tsüe; 35 whorl circle.
- A 161.** Tsüe. Kukien 23: 1. 6 Tsüe; 35 whorl circle.
- A 162.** Tsüe. Shan 6: 19. 6 Tsüe.
- A 163.** Tsüe. Shan 7: 18. 6 Tsüe; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
- A 164.** Tsüe. Shan 7: 17. 6 Tsüe; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
- A 165.** Tsüe. Shan 7: 56. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 34 circle band.

- A 166.** Tsüe. T'ao 3: 20. 6 Tsüe; 31 spiral band; 35 whorl circle.
- A 167.** Tsüe. Shan 7: 27. 6 Tsüe; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
- A 168.** Tsüe. Heng 71. 6 Tsüe; 35 whorl circle; poor drawing.
- A 169.** Tsüe. T'ao, Sü hia 12. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 28 scaled animal.
- A 170.** Tsüe. Photo Umebara I: 65, Holmes collection, our Pl. X. 6 Tsüe; 14 free animal's head(?); 15 t'ao-t'ie; 23 cicadas forming 26 leg blades; 28 scaled animal.
- A 171.** Tsüe. Po 14: 6. 6 Tsüe; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band; 38 square with crescents.
- A 172.** Tsüe. Po 16: 16. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 173.** Tsüe. Kukien 26: 46. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling. Poor drawing.
- A 174.** Kia. Chengts'iu 43. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band.
- A 175.** Ho. Ningshou 12: 40. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 176.** Ho. Shan 9: 22. No distinctive features.
- A 177.** Nao bell. Sükia 17: 30. 15 t'ao-t'ie. Ineptly drawn, yet obviously of the same type as next.
- A 178.** Nao bell. Wuying 151, our Pl. XXVIII. 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- A 179.** Nao bell. Shan 1: 39. 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- A 180.** Bell. Illustrated London News No. 5005. Bell found at An-yang; plain, of a very unusual type.
- A 181.** Lid of a Kuei. Our Pl. XXVII, also Mengwei, Sü 10; belonging to the MFEA. 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- A 182.** Lid of a Yu. Shan 4: 5. No distinctive features.
- A 183.** Tiger. Shan 4: 95. Too badly drawn to allow of any conclusions.
- A 184.** Owl. Shan 4: 96. 13 segmented flanges; 28 scaled animal; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 185.** Owl. Umebara I: 41, same as Heng 47, Mrs. Christian Holmes collection. 28 scaled animal; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 186.** Lid of a Tsüe. Photo Mengwei, Shang 50. Very doubtful.
- A 187.** Axe. Senoku III: 135, our Pl. XXVIII. 23 cicadas turned into 25 hanging blades; 35 whorl circle (dissolved).
- A 188.** Hien. T'ao, Sü hia 2. This vessel has a quite irregular combination of 15 t'ao-t'ie with crit. 58 below (broad figured band), which is typical of Middle Chou; it is probably spurious.
- A 189.** Ih. Shan 9: 37. This vessel is typical Middle Chou (crit. 46, 53, 58 below) in spite of the Ya hing; it is probably spurious. This is confirmed by the fact that besides the Ya hing it has an inscription identical with that of A 188, which also goes stark against the general rules. They are both of the same forger's hand.
- A 190.** Ting. Ningshou 1: 30. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 20 winged dragon (badly drawn); 29 spiral filling.
- A 191.** Ting. Photo Shuangkien 6. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- A 192.** Ting. Kukien 3: 31. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 193.** Ting. Wuying 18, our Pl. VII. 9 supporting animals; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 194.** Ting. Photo Mengwei, Shang 14. 8 cylinder legs.
- A 195.** Ting. Huaimi, Shang 2. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 27 animal triple band.
- A 196.** Li. Wuying 36, our Pl. V. We know of no example of this plain, original kind of Li in Chou time.

- A 197.** Li with handle and two knobs. Set of picture postcards of the Peking Palace Museum. 35 whorl circle.
- A 198.** Li of the same type as A 197. Shan 7: 68.
- A 199.** Hien. Kukien 12: 2, also in the picture postcard set of the Peking Palace Museum. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 27 animal triple band.
- A 200.** Hien. Ch'angan 1: 26. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 27 animal triple band.
- A 201.** Chi. Shan 5: 77. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 202.** Chi. K'ao 4: 35. No distinctive features.
- A 203.** Chi. Huaimi, Shang 30. 27 animal triple band (very dissolved).
- A 204.** Chi. Huaimi, Shang 28. 31 spiral band.
- A 205.** Kuang. Sükia 14: 33. 7 Kuang; 11 bottle horns; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- A 206.** Po 20: 33. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 207.** Ting with handle (Ho?). Photo Wuying 126. 8 cylinder legs.
- A 208.** Tsun. T'ao 1: 45, our Pl. XXXII. 4 Tsun; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 22 snake; 23 cicadas made into 24 rising blades; 28 scaled animal; 29 spiral filling.
- A 209.** Ku. Shierkia 4: 15. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 210.** Tsun. Ningshou 3: 8. The vessel looks very doubtful.
- A 211.** Ku. Shan 5: 28. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie (very dissolved); 29 spiral filling; 34 circle band.
- A 212.** Tsun. Paoyün 104, also Süyi 5: 4. 4 Tsun; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades.
- A 213.** Tsun. Shan 4: 90. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie made of 19 trunked dragons; 29 spiral filling.
- A 214.** Tsun. Ningshou 3: 29. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- A 215.** Tsun. Kukien 8: 10. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- A 216.** Tsun. Shan 4: 81, our Pl. XXXI. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- A 217.** Tsun. Set of picture postcards of the Peking Palace Museum. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- A 218.** Ku. Kukien 23: 21. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 24 rising blades.
- A 219.** Ku. Mengwei, Sü 27, our Pl. XIX. 4 Ku; 13 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 24 rising blades.
- A 220.** Yu. K'ao 4: 24. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 11 bottle horns; 14 free animal's head; 34 circle band. Poor drawing.
- A 221.** Yu. Shan 4: 13. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head — for the rest indistinct (poor drawing).
- A 222.** Yu. T'ao, Sü shang 40, also Kukien 16: 37. 3 Yu; 11 bottle horns; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- A 223.** Yu. Ch'angan 1: 20, our Pl. XXX. 3 Yu; 15 t'ao-t'ie made of 27 animal triple band; 32 compound lozenges; 34 circle band.
- A 224.** Yu. Set of picture postcards from the Peking Palace Museum. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 11 bottle horns; 14 free animal's head; 34 circle band; for the rest indistinct.
- A 225.** Yu. Kukien 15: 35. 3 Yu; 11 bottle horns; 27 animal triple band; 31 spiral band.
- A 226.** Yu. Hakkaku 12, our Pl. XXIV. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 21 feathered dragon; 29 spiral filling; 34 circle band; 38 square with crescents.
- A 227.** Yu. T'ao 2: 36. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon.

- A 228.** Yu. T'ao 2: 37. 3 Yu; 13 segmented flanges; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling; 36 vertical ribs; 37 T scores.
- A 229.** Yu. Kukien 16: 38. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 34 circle band.
- A 230.** Yu. Freer Gallery. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head.
- A 231.** Ho. Set of picture postcards of the Peking Palace Museum. 21 feathered dragon; for the rest indistinct.
- A 232.** Ho. Chengts'iu 49. 16 common bird; 20 winged dragon.
- A 233.** Kuei. Heng 43. 12 spikes; 14 free animal's head; 31 spiral band (yet interrupted by eyes as if of a rudimentary 15 t'ao-t'ie); 32 compound lozenges.
- A 234.** Kuei. Po 8: 9. 14 free animal's head; 17 gaping dragon; 20 winged dragon.
- A 235.** Kuei. Kukien 13: 16. 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle; 38 square with crescents.
- A 236.** Tsüe. Photo Senoku II: 75. 6 Tsüe; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
- A 237.** Tsüe. Photo Mengwei, Shang 48. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle(?).
- A 238.** Tsüe. Po 14: 23. 6 Tsüe; 35 whorl circle.
- A 239.** Tsüe. Freer Gallery. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 26 leg blades; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 240.** Kuei. Huaimi, Shang 18. 6 Kuei; 15 t'ao-t'ie (very dissolved).
- A 241.** Tsüe. T'ao 3: 16, our Pl. XXX. 6 Tsüe; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
- A 242.** Lid of a Yu(?). Photo Sungchai 16. 31 spiral band; 34 circle band.
- A 243.** Lid. of a Yu. P'anku, Hia 40. 10 lid knob; 17 gaping dragon.
- A 244.** Lid of a Yu. Chengts'iu 35. 27 animal triple band; 34 circle band.
- A 245.** Ting. Po 3: 7. 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- A 246.** Ting. Hakkaku 2, our Pl. III. 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; ; 37 T scores.
- A 247.** Ting. Wuying 21, our Pl. IV. 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie, strongly dissolved, somewhat reminding of 27 animal triple band, and with 19 trunked dragon discernible, though badly corrupted.
- A 248.** Ting. Kukien 3: 5. 8 cylinder legs; 27 animal triple band.
- A 249.** Ting. Photo Paoyün 21, also Süyi 1: 45. 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- A 250.** Ting. Kukien 3: 6. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 251.** Ting. T'ao 1: 21. 8 cylinder legs.
- A 252.** Ting. Shan 2: 35. 8 cylinder legs; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling. Poor drawing.
- A 253.** Ting. T'ao 1: 19. 8 cylinder legs; 12 spikes; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 32 compound lozenges.
- A 254.** Ting. T'ao 1: 22. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 255.** Ting. Photo Umebara II: 91. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 256.** Ting. Ningshou 1: 33. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.
- A 257.** Ting. Huaimi, Shang 3. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band.

- A 258.** Ting. Heng 7. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band.
- A 259.** Ting. Kukien 3: 4. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 26 leg blades.
- A 260.** Hien. Our Pl. VIII, Hellström collection. 15 T'ao-t'ie; 16 common bird.
- A 261.** Hien. Sükia 23: 25. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 262.** Hien. T'ao, Sü hia 1. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 27 animal triple band.
- A 263.** Hien. Ningshou 12: 7. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 27 animal triple band.
- A 264.** Tsun. Chengts'iu 24. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- A 265.** Tsun. K'ao 5: 14. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 34 circle band.
- A 266.** Tsun. Bestände der Firma Dr. Otto Burchard & Co., Chinesische Kunst, II Teil, Pl. 1127. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- A 267.** Tsun. Kukien 9: 3. 4 Tsun; 21 feathered dragon; 29 spiral filling.
- A 268.** Tsun. Kukien 9: 2. 4 Tsun; 21 feathered dragon; 29 spiral filling.
- A 269.** Tsun. Our Pl. XVII, Oeder collection. 4 Tsun; 38 square with crescents.
- A 270.** Chi. Kukien 28: 18. No distinctive features.
- A 271.** Chi. Shan 5: 65. No distinctive features.
- A 272.** Chi. Shan 5: 51. No distinctive features.
- A 273.** Chi. Photo Shungkien 48. No distinctive features.
- A 274.** Chi. Kukien 9: 5. 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- A 275.** Chi. Lianglei 2: 18. No distinctive features.
- A 276.** Chi. Kukien 26: 17. 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling. Poor drawing.
- A 277.** Ku. Chengts'iu 39. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 34 circle band.
- A 278.** Ku. Photo Umehara I: 56, Wannieck collection. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- A 279.** Ku. Po 7: 3. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades.
- A 280.** Ku. Photo Wuying 137. 4 Ku; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- A 281.** Ku. Shan 5: 4. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band; 38 square with crescents.
- A 282.** Ku. Kukien 23: 37. 4 Ku; 29 spiral filling; 34 circle band. Poor drawing.
- A 283.** Ku. Our Pl. XIX. Seligman collection. 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie (very dissolved); 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 284.** Kuang. Kukien 32: 13. 7 Kuang; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 19 trunked dragon; 28 scaled animal; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band; 34 circle band; 35 whorl circle. In part ineptly drawn.
- A 285.** Kuang. Kukien 32: 14. 7 Kuang; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- A 286.** Yu. Kukien 7: 13, there very badly drawn; a picture postcard from the Peking Palace Museum shows it to be a quite good vessel. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird.
- A 287.** Yu. Senoku 72, our Pl. XXIII. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- A 288.** Yu. Photo Umehara I: 82, Menten collection. 3 Yu; 11 bottle horns; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- A 289.** Yu. Shan 4: 19, our Pl. XXX. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 32 compound lozenges; 34 circle band.
- A 290.** Yu. Shan 4: 6. 3 Yu; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 31 spiral band; 34 circle band.
- A 291.** Yu. Kukien 16: 16. 3 Yu; 31 spiral band; 34 circle band.
- A 292.** Yu. Heng 58. 3 Yu. 31 spiral band; 34 circle band (very similar to but not the same vessel as 291).

- A 293.** Kuei. Wuying 61, our Pl. XV. 14 free animal's head; 31 spiral band; 34 circle band.
- A 294.** Kuei. Our Pl. XIV, Hellström collection. 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; 34 circle band.
- A 295.** Kuei. Süyi 6: 44. 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle; 38 square with crescents.
- A 296.** Kuei. Kukien 6: 14. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon.
- A 297.** Kuei. Sükia 7: 15. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling.
- A 298.** Kuei. Sükia 7: 14. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 16 common bird. Ineptly drawn.
- A 299.** Kuei. Shan 8: 5. 14 free animal's head; 27 animal triple band (very dissolved).
- A 300.** Kuei. Shan 8: 16, our Pl. XXXI. 12 spikes; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie made of 27 animal triple band; 32 compound lozenges.
- A 301.** Kuei. Sükia 6: 19. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 35 whorl circle (dissolved).
- A 302.** Kuei. Shuangkien 19, our Pl. XI. 14 free animal's head; 17 gaping dragon; 20 winged dragon; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 33 interlocked T's.
- A 303.** Kuei. Kukien 13: 36. 14 free animal's head; 32 compound lozenges; 34 circle band.
- A 304.** Kuei. Our Pl. XIII, Oeder collection. 14 free animal's head; 22 snake; 32 compound lozenges; 35 whorl circle.
- A 305.** Po 8: 7. 12 spikes; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling; 32 compound lozenges. In part badly drawn.
- A 306.** Kuei. Photo Paoyün 58, also Süyi 6: 45. 13 segmented flanges; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 29 spiral filling.
- A 307.** Ho. Shan 9: 25. 27 animal triple band.
- A 308.** Ho. Sükia 14: 25. 10 lid knob; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 309.** Lei. Photo Senoku Zoku 173. 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head; 35 whorl circle.
- A 310.** Tsüe. Heng 70, also Shan 7: 36. 6 Tsüe; 29 spiral filling.
- A 311.** Tsüe. K'ao 5: 4. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
- A 312.** Tsüe. Shan 6: 62. 6 Tsüe.
- A 313.** Tsüe. Po 14: 26. 6 Tsüe; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
- A 314.** Tsüe. Shan 7: 6. 6 Tsüe; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie (very dissolved); 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 315.** Tsüe. Shan 6: 9. 6 Tsüe; 35 whorl circle.
- A 316.** Tsüe. K'ao 5: 10. Drawing bad and useless.
- A 317.** Tsüe. Shan 6: 60. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.
- A 318.** Tsüe. Shan 6: 7. 6 Tsüe; 35 whorl circle.
- A 319.** Tsüe. Shan 6: 41. 6 Tsüe; 15 t'ao-t'ie (very dissolved); 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
- A 320.** Tsüe. Shan 7: 26. 6 Tsüe; 35 whorl circle.
- A 321.** Tsüe. Shan 7: 9. 6 Tsüe; 27 animal triple band; 35 whorl circle.
- A 322.** Tsüe. Kukien 23: 3. 6 Tsüe; 27 animal triple band. 35 whorl circle.
- A 323.** Yi. Eumorfopoulos I, pl. XV. 10 lid knob; 13 segmented flanges; 15 tao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 19 trunked dragon; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- A 324.** Ting. Shierkia 11: 8. 8 cylinder legs.
- A 325.** Yu. Shierkia 11: 12. 3 Yu.

- A 326.** Tsun. Shierkia 11: 11. 4 Tsun.
A 327. Ku. Shierkia 11: 14. 4 Ku.
A 328. Tsüe. Shierkia 11: 16. 6 Tsüe.
A 329. Tsüe. Shierkia 11: 17. 6 Tsüe.
A 330. Chi. Shierkia 6: 15. 31 spiral band.
A 331. Chi. Shierkia 4: 16. 31 spiral band; a type of band from which by certain modifications one of the variants of crit. 38 below is derived.
A 332. Axe. Shierkia 4: 30. 25 hanging blades.
A 333. Small bell. Shierkia 1: 8. Same type as A 180.
A 334. Square Ting. Shierkia 7: 2. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 12 spikes; 13 segmented flanges; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle (dissolved); 37 T scores.
A 335. Ting. Shierkia 1: 1. 1 square Ting; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling.
A 336. Li. Shierkia 7: 10. Plain Li of the same type as A 196.
A 337. Kuei. Shierkia 12: 17. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 31 spiral band; 34 circle band.

Let us sum up the results of this scrutiny of our vessels A 1—337 with Yin time inscriptions. We have had to eliminate 34 vessels as being of too poor a quality or too badly illustrated to be of any use, or too indifferent and void of distinctive features to allow of any conclusions (15, 17, 42, 59, 66, 75, 77, 78, 81, 84, 89, 94, 123, 129, 131—133, 136, 176, 182, 183, 186, 201, 202, 206, 210, 250, 261, 270—273, 275, 316). The remaining 303 are remarkably consistent in type and decoration: there are altogether 3 vessels (16, 188, 189) which deviate from the definition of the Yin style contained in the criteria 1—38 above. It is certainly no exaggeration to state that these exceptional cases cannot in the slightest degree confute the general rules established with the aid of the 300 vessels which present criteria 1—38. The 3 exceptions must either be recent forgeries or else have been made in middle or late Chou time and quite exceptionally furnished with archaized inscriptions (*ya hing, si tsii sun, kū*).

THE YIN-CHOU STYLE.

On pp. 30—39 above (Cat. B I) we have recorded 64 illustrated vessels which from their inscriptions can be dated in the first half (1122—947) of the Western Chou period. The style of these vessels, what we shall call here the Yin-Chou style, is not so much a new style as a continuation of the Yin style. Examples of the Yin criteria in Yin-Chou style occur in our illustrations as follows:

3. Yu: Pl. XXIV: B 163; XXXII: B 30.
4. Tsun, Ku: Pl. XXI: B 36; XXII: B 31; XXXI: C 139.
5. Yi: Pl. XVIII: B 24.
8. Cylinder legs: Pl. IV: B 49; XXIX: C 187.
10. Lid knobs: Pl. XVIII: B 24.
13. Segmented flanges: Pl. XII: E 40.
14. Free animal's head: Pl. XI: B 42; XII: E 40; XV: B 167; XVI: B 22, B 41; XXI: B 36; XXIV: B 163; XXXI: C 139; E 18, B 9; XXXII: B 30.

15. T'ao-t'ie: Pl. X: B 32; XII: E 40; XVIII: B 24; XXII: B 31; XXXI: C 139; XXXII: B 25.
16. Common bird: Pl. IV: B 49; XVI: B 22; XVIII: B 24; XXIV: B 163; XXIX: C 187; XXXII: B 25.
19. Trunked dragon: Pl. XII: E 40; XVIII: B 24.
21. Feathered dragon: Pl. XXII: B 31; XXXII: B 30.
22. Snake: Pl. XII: E 40; XXXII: B 30.
23. Cicada: Pl. XVI: B 22, B 41.
24. Rising blade: Pl. X: B 32; XXI: B 36; XXXI: C 139; XXXII: B 25.
27. Animal triple band: Pl. X: B 32; XI: B 42; XXXI: E 18, B 9.
28. Scaled animal: Pl. XVIII: B 24; XXI: B 36.
29. Spiral filling: Pl. IV: B 49; X: B 32; XII: E 40; XVI: B 22, B 41; XXI: B 36; XXV: B 153; XXXII: B 30, B 25; XVIII: B 24.
30. Spirals on figures: Pl. XVIII: B 24.
32. Compound lozenges: Pl. XXX: B 7.
33. Interlocked T's: Pl. XVI: B 22.
34. Circle band: Pl. XXX: B 7.
35. Whorl circle: Pl. XV: B 167.
36. Vertical ribs: Pl. XV: B 167.
38. Square with crescents: Pl. XV: B 167.

The Yin-Chou style has added a few innovations:

39. »Bent ears».

Ears (handles), which start, not vertically from the rim of the vessel but from a point an inch or two below the rim, run horizontally at first and then bend upwards. Pl. XVI: B 41; XXV: B 155, B 153.

40. »Hook projections».

The flanges (cf. 13 above) broken up into hook-like projections. Pl. XVIII: B 24; XXII: B 31; XXXII: B 30, B 25.

41. »Tail-raising bird».

A bird which, in contradistinction to the »common bird» of 16 above, has a plume-like tail raised vertically. Pl. XXI: B 36; XXIV: B 163; XXVII: C 67.

42. »P'an».

The P'an type of vessel (round or oval tray, platter). Pl. XVI: B 41; XXV: B 155, B 153.

When passing in review the vessels of cat. B I here, we give no references to the books in which these vessels are to be found, as they were quoted on p. 30 ff. above, with the exception only of photographed vessels, which we think it useful to record here as well.

- B 1.** Ting. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 35 whorl circle.
- B 2.** Ting. 39 bent ears.
- B 3.** Kuei. Photo Wuying 57. 29 spiral filling.
- B 4.** Hu. No distinctive features.
- B 5.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- B 6.** Ting. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs.
- B 7.** Kuei, lid. Our Pl. XXX. 32 compound lozenges; 34 circle band.
- B 8.** Kuei. Our Pl. XXXI. 14 free animal's head; 27 animal triple band.
- B 10.** Ting. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 12 spikes.
- B 12.** Ting. Photo Paoyün 8. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling.
- B 13.** Kuei. Photo Eumorfopoulos I: 13. 29 spiral filling. Unusual decoration: elephants and on the foot dragons of an uncommon type.
- B 14.** Tsun. 4 Tsun; 16 common bird; 24 rising blades; 40 hook projections; 41 tail-raising bird.
- B 15.** Ho. Photo Senoku II: 101. No distinctive features.
- B 16.** Yi. 5 Yi; 10 lid knob; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 22 snake; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- B 17.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures; 37 T scores.
- B 18.** Yu. Photo Tahi t'uлу 167. 3 Yu.
- B 21.** Chung. 29 spiral filling (on top); at the same time Middle Chou elements: 43 Chung; 59 back to back dragons. The vessel seems to us very suspect.
- B 22.** Kuei. Photo Umehara I: 12, our Pl. XVI. Weill collection. 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 23 cicada; 29 spiral filling; 33 interlocked T's.
- B 23.** Yi. Photo Umehara I: 10. 5 Yi; 10 lid knob; 14 free animal's head (functioning at the same time as head of a cleft dragon); 15 t'ao-t'ie; 16 common bird; 19 trunked dragon; 28 scaled animal; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
- B 24.** Yi. Photo Umehara I: 11, our Pl. XVIII. Freer Gallery of Art. Same criteria as B 23.
- B 25.** Tsun. Our Pl. XXXII. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 16 common bird; 23 cicada made into 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 40 hook projections.
- B 26.** Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head.
- B 27.** Kuei. No distinctive features.
- B 30.** Yu. Our Pl. XXXII. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 21 feathered dragon (in an unusual variant); 22 snake; 40 hook projections.
- B 31.** Tsun. Photo Hakkaku 4, our Pl. XXII. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 21 feathered dragon; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 40 hook projections.
- B 32.** Ho. Our Pl. X. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 27 animal triple band; 29 spiral filling.
- B 33.** Ting. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 12 spikes; 13 segmented flanges; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle; 37 T scores.
- B 34.** Kuei. 29 spiral filling; 39 bent ears; for the rest too indistinctly drawn.
- B 35.** Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 28 scaled animal; 29 spiral filling; 41 tail-raising bird.
- B 36.** Tsun. Photo Hakkaku 9, our Pl. XXI. 4 Tsun; 14 free animal's head; 24 rising blades; 28 scaled animal; 29 spiral filling.
- B 37.** Kuei. Drawing bad and useless.
- B 38.** Kuei. 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling; 40 hook projections.
- B 39.** Ting. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 16 common bird; 40 hook projections.

- B 41.** P'an. Photo Eumorfopoulos I: 47, our Pl. XVI. 14 free animal's head; 23 cicada; 29 spiral filling; 39 bent ears; 42 P'an.
- B 42.** Kuei. Photo Mengwei, Shang 25, our Pl. XI. 14 free animal's head; 27 animal triple band.
- B 43.** Yu. Photo Senoku II: 63. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- B 44.** Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- B 45.** Kuei. 14 free animal's head.
- B 47.** Tsun. Drawing poor and useless.
- B 48.** Hien. Photo Senoku I: 12. 15 t'ao-t'ie.
- B 49.** Ting. Photo Mengwei, Sü 6, our Pl. IV. 8 cylinder legs; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- B 50.** Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head.
- B 51.** Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- B 52.** Chi. 14 free animal's head; 27 animal triple band.
- B 53.** Kuei. Photo Senoku III: 105. 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- B 55.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs (so drawn in Ch'angan 1: 6); 16 common bird.
- B 56.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs.
- B 57.** Tsun. 4 Tsun; 29 spiral filling; 40 hook projections; 42 tail-raising bird. The drawing is very unfavourable, but the vessel probably authentic.
- B 60.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- B 61.** Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling; 42 tail-raising bird.
- B 62.** Ting. 1 square Ting (oblong); 26 leg blades.
- B 64.** Ting (oblong). 8 cylinder legs; 39 bent ears.
- B 65.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs; 27 animal triple band, so dissolved that it looks almost like a triple 31 spiral band.
- B 66.** Kuei. Photo Mengwei, Shang 33. 14 free animal's head; 35 whorl circle; 36 vertical ribs; 38 square with crescents. The stand has an admixture of Middle Chou: 58 broad figured band.
- B 67.** Ting. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 12 spikes; 13 segmented flanges; 29 spiral filling; 32 compound lozenges; 35 whorl circle; 37 T scores.
- B 68.** Li. No distinctive features.
- B 69.** Yu. Seems suspect. A band of very realistically drawn deer.
- B 70.** Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores; 42 tail-raising bird.
- B 71.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
- B 73.** Ting. Photo Shuangyü 7. 8 cylinder legs (yet with a slight tendency to 49 curved legs); 19 trunked dragon; 29 spiral filling.
- B 74.** Ting. Photo Senoku I: 2. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- B 75.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs.
- B 76.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.
- B 77.** Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling.

So far we have treated only of vessels (cat. B I) which thanks to their inscriptions can be dated with a fair amount of certainty in the first half (1122—947) of Western Chou, what we can now call, from the point of view of art, the Yin-Chou period. The succeeding epoch, the second half (947—771) of Western

Chou (cat. B II) possessed, as we shall find presently, a totally different bronze art (»Middle Chou«). Now, besides the vessels of categories B I (1122—947) and B II (946—771), we have four other large categories: B III, C, D and E¹⁾ to all of which it is a common feature that a few of their vessels were contemporaneous with B I (1122—947), whereas the great majority of their vessels were contemporaneous with B II (946—771) or later (770—221). From the inscriptions alone it is not possible to pick out the early ones, those contemporaneous with cat. B I (1122—947); but since we have already determined just now, with the aid of cat. B I (vessels 1—77), what elements were characteristic of that period — Yin criteria 1—38 with the addition of criteria 39—42 — we can now take the stylistic facts into our service and from categories B III, C, D and E single out those vessels which agree in style with the Yin-Chou period vessels (B 1—77) and which must therefore reasonably date from the first two centuries of the Chou dynasty. We thus obtain an additional list of Yin-Chou vessels (drawn from categories B III, C, D and E), determined as belonging to the Chou dynasty from their inscriptions, but attributed more precisely to the period 1122—947 from their style, as a result of a comparison with the vessels B I above.

Royal Court:

- B 153.** P'an. Our Pl. XXV. 29 spiral filling; 39 bent ears; 42 P'an.
- B 154.** Tsun. 4 Tsun; 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling. Poor drawing.
- B 155.** P'an. Our Pl. XXV. 29 spiral filling; 39 bent ears; 42 P'an.
- B 156.** Tsun. 4 Tsun; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling (? poor drawing).
- B 160.** Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; 41 tail-raising bird.
- B 161.** Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band; 41 tail-raising bird.
- B 162.** Hien. Photo Senoku I: 14. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling.
- B 163.** Yu. Photo Senoku II: 67, our Pl. XXIV. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling; 41 tail-raising bird.
- B 164.** Tsun. 4 Tsun; 14 free animal's head; 15 common bird; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 41 tail-raising bird.
- B 166.** Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; 41 tail-raising bird.
- B 167.** Kuei. Photo Tch'ou XII, our Pl. XV. 14 free animal's head; 35 whorl circle; 36 vertical ribs; 38 square with crescents.
- B 168.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.

Cheng:

- C 12.** Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie. Poor drawing.

Chou:

- C 20.** Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling.
- C 21.** P'an. Photo Paoyün 79. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; impossible to tell whether Yin-Chou or Middle Chou.

¹⁾ B III is Western Chou (1122—771) generally, without any possibility of a definite attribution to its 1st or its 2nd half; C is the Feudal Court section; D is the Chou Clan names section; E is the X-fu names section.

C 23. Hu. 29 spiral filling; 41 tail-raising bird.

C 25 a. Li. Photo Shierkia 3: 3. Vessel of the early Li type.

Jo:

C 49. Hien. The drawing Shan 3: 36 gives the impression that this is a recent imitation of the archaic type.

C 50. Ting. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band.

Ki:

C 67. Kuei lid. MFEA. Our Pl. XXVII. 28 scaled animal (a few scales on the bird); 29 spiral filling; 41 tail-raising bird.

Kuo:

C 78. Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; 31 spiral band; very poor drawing.

Man:

C 100. Ting. Photo Mengwei, Shang 9. 1 square Ting; 8 cylinder legs; 13 segmented flanges; 20 winged dragon; 26 leg blades; 29 spiral filling; 37 T scores.

C 101. Kuei. Photo Mengwei, Shang 22. 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.

Pei:

C 106. Yu. Photo Umehara I: 77, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; 34 circle band; dragon somewhat kindred to 21.

Shao:

C 110. Hien. Photo Senoku I: 11. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 21 feathered dragon; 29 spiral filling.

C 111. Tsüe. 6 Tsüe; 27 animal triple band.

T'eng:

C 138. Kuei. Photo Mengwei Shang 27. 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; 41 tail-raising bird.

Ts'ai:

C 139. Tsun. Our Pl. XXXI. 4 Tsun; 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling.

Ts'i:

C 157. P'an. 14 free animal's head; 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling.

Wei:

C 178. Kuei. 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle; drawing very bad.

Ying:

C 187. Ting (oblong), our Pl. XXIX. 8 cylinder legs; 16 common bird.

C 188. Kuei. Too badly drawn to be of any use.

C 189. Kuei. No distinctive features.

C 190. Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling; 32 compound lozenges. Poor drawing.

Yung:

- C 192.** Ting. Photo Mengwei, Shang 10. 9 supporting animals; 13 segmented flanges; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 30 spirals on figures.

Chou clan names:

- D 13.** Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 27 animal triple band; 35 T scores.
D 34. Chi. Photo Shuangkien 49. 14 free animal's head.
D 37 a. Ting. 8 cylinder legs.
D 44. Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 27 animal triple band; 36 vertical ribs.
D 54. Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 39 bent ears.
D 60. Tou. 14 free animal's head; poor drawing.
D 61. Ting. Photo Senoku I: 3. 2 Li-ting; 8 cylinder legs; 15 t'ao-t'ie; dragon kindred to 17 gaping dragon; 29 spiral filling.
D 69. Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 29 spiral filling.
D 71. Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head.

X-fu names:

- E 1.** Ting. Drawing bad and useless.
E 2. Ho. Drawing bad and useless.
E 3. Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
E 4. Kuei. 29 spiral filling(?); 39 bent ears; poor drawing.
E 7. Ting. 8 cylinder legs; 27 animal triple band.
E 18. Kuei. Our Pl. XXXI. 14 free animal's head; 27 animal triple band.
E 22. Kia. Photo Senoku II: 88. 6 Kia; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 18 vertical dragon; 28 scaled animal; 29 spiral filling; 30 spirals on figures.
E 24. Tsun. 4 Tsun; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
E 25. Yu. Photo Umebara I: 78, Oppenheim collection. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 20 winged dragon (? indistinct); 29 spiral filling.
E 29. Hu. 21 feathered dragon (strongly disfigured); 29 spiral filling; the vessel seems suspect, but this may be due to bad drawing.
E 36. Ho. 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling.
E 37. Kuei. Drawing bad and useless.
E 38. Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird.
E 39. Ting. Drawing indistinct.
E 40. Kuei. Our Pl. XII. Oeder collection. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 22 snake; 29 spiral filling.
E 46. Tsun. 4 Tsun; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling. Seems suspect, but this may be due to bad drawing.
E 48. Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 16 common bird; 29 spiral filling; 36 vertical ribs.
E 49. Kuei. Photo Sungchai 9. 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie; 19 trunked dragon; 27 animal triple band; 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle.
E 54. Hien. Drawing bad and useless.
E 60. Kuei. Drawing bad and useless.
E 61. Kuei. 15 t'ao-t'ie; 39 bent ears. Poor drawing.
E 63. Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head; 21 feathered dragon; 29 spiral filling; poor drawing.
E 65. Tsun. Photo Mengwei, Sü 24. 4 Tsun; 14 free animal's head.
E 66. Kuei. 14 free animal's head; 27 animal band (unusual: here in 4 sections).
E 67. Tsun. 4 Tsun; 14 free animal's head; 21 feathered dragon; 29 spiral filling.

E 68. Yu. 3 Yu; 14 free animal's head. The drawing in Sükia is bad and useless, but the picture postcard of the Palace Museum shows the vessel to be quite good.

E 74. Ting. Drawing bad and useless.

E 76. Ting. 9 supporting animals; 15 t'ao-t'ie made of 27 animal triple bands.

After the reduction, on the one hand of 19 cases (B 4, 15, 27, 37, 47, 68, 69; C 49, 188, 189; E 1, 2, 29, 37, 39, 46, 54, 60, 74), which are either bad vessels or bad pictures or indifferent vessels, on the other hand of two cases (B 21, 66) in which there is an admixture of Middle Chou elements (spurious vessels?), we obtain a material of 116 clear Yin-Chou vessels, presenting the criteria 1—42.

THE MIDDLE CHOU STYLE.

On p. 39 ff. above we have recorded 56 illustrated vessels which from their inscriptions can be dated in the second half (946—771, orthodox chronology) of Western Chou. The style of these vessels, what we call the Middle Chou style, marks a sudden, complete and fundamental change in the art traditions in China. It is characterized on the one hand by a ruthless abolition of the whole array of Yin elements recorded in criteria 1—38 above¹⁾; on the other hand by the introduction of a series of new elements, most of which were entirely unknown in China before that time, and some of which had cropped up but sporadically, in exceptional cases, anterior to 947:

43. »Chung».

The Chung bell. The term Chung has often been misused by Western writers. There were bells in Yin time (see e. g. the Nao Pl. XXVIII: A 178), but not the proper Chung bell. In the Yin-Chou period we know of only one example (see B 21 above), which therefore seems doubtful. The real fortunes of the Chung start with Middle Chou. Pl. XLVII: C 73, B 94; XLVIII: C 66, C 34; LI: C 34, B 96.

44. »Arched Li».

The original Li of Yin time, which derives from the prehistoric Li, made up of three pointed-bottomed vessels joined into one, still retains much of the »udder»-like appearance of that clumsy vessel: the three cavities, going down into the legs, are somewhat sack-shaped, see Pl. V: A 196. The new Li of the Middle Chou style is an elegant vessel. The sackshape has disappeared, and the line from one leg to another is a finely arched curve. Pl. XXXVI: C 107; XXXVII: D 25, C 8; L: C 55, C 133, D 38.

45. »Fu».

The Fu tray. Pl. XLII: C 1; XLIII: D 5, D 9; L: C 95, B 119.

¹⁾ On the contrary, the Yin-Chou innovations 39—42 live on in middle Chou, e. g.: 39. »Bent ears«: Pl. XXXIV: C 64; XXXV: E 42; XLIV: D 12, C 40; XLIX: C 143, C 14. 42. »P'an«: XLIV: D 12, C 40; LI: C 194.

46. »Ih».

The Ih »sauce-boat» vessel (by the arbitrarily chosen spelling Ih we distinguish it from the vessel Yi of 5 above). It should be strictly distinguished from the Kuang (7 above). Pl. XLV: B 120, C 39.

47. »Sü».

The oval vessel corresponding to the round Kuei. Pl. XXXVIII: B 90.

48. »Shallow Ting».

The old Ting was strictly hemispherical. Here we have a Ting which is so to speak a smaller section of a sphere, a shallow Ting widening towards the rim. Pl. XXXIII: C 121; XXXV: E 42; XXXVI: C 4.

49. »Curved legs».

This denomination is very far from being exhaustive. The essential point is that the Ting legs in their exterior line from top to bottom do not go in a straight line — as in the cylinder legs of 8 above — but make more or less of an S-curve. This is effected on the one hand by their having a bulbous upper part, on the other hand by their expanding at the foot. There are many varieties: some of them are strongly bulbous above and expanding only very little or not at all at the bottom, others *vice versa*. Another general feature is that the legs are cut straight and flat on the inside. Pl. XXXIII: B 143, C 121; XXXIV: B 142, C 64; XXXV: B 116, E 42; XXXVI: C 4; XLIX: B 88, B 114, C 143, C 173.

50. »Fin flanges».

These occur exclusively on the Li tripods. The flanges are of a quite different type from those studied earlier (13 above). They are very thin, and higher in their middle part, so that they assume the shape of a fin. Pl. XXXVI: C 107; XXXVII: D 25; L: C 55, C 133.

51. »Footed Kuei».

These Kuei vessels stand on small feet of varying shapes. The foot may take the shape of an animal's head, or an animal's head is attached to the top of the foot. In some cases merely the place where there should be one of these diminutive feet is marked by an animal's head, and the foot itself is discarded. For the sake of convenience we reckon this rudimentary foot as belonging to our criterion 51. Pl. XXXVIII: C 80; XXXIX: D 28, C 103; XL: B 132, D 4.

52. »Spiral horns».

These are the spiral horns on the animal's heads forming the handles. Pl. XXXV: E 32; XXXVIII: B 90; XL: B 132; XLV: B 120.

53. »Grooves».

By this short denomination we indicate the horizontal grooves or furrows, the godrooned rings seen in Pl. XXXVIII: C 80, B 90; XXXIX: D 28; XL: B 132, D 4; XLI: B 133, B 89; XLV: B 120, C 39.

54. »Vertical stripes».

These, like the »fin flanges» of 50 above, are to be found exclusively on the Li tripods. They must be clearly distinguished from the vertical ribs of 36 above. There we had to do with convex or flattened, fairly broad ribs applied to the surface, leaving but very narrow gaps between them. Here we have very thin raised lines, leaving the bottom surface as the principal part, with but thin vertical flutings. The difference can be illustrated by this sectional drawing:



Pl. XXXVI: C 107; XXXVII: D 25; L: D 38.

55. »Scale band».

The scales of 28 above were simple, fairly realistic scales on the bodies of animals, mostly on dragons or snakes, but occasionally also on birds, elephants, owls and so on. Here, in 55 and 56, the scale motif reverts but is applied in a particular and quite new fashion. A band, mostly a horizontal band round the neck, less often round the base, sometimes also a curved band on the handle, is filled with scales running length-wise, the convex top of one scale fitting more or less tightly into the concave base of the preceding one. The scales are of varying shapes, often very long drawn-out, frequently occurring in alternating shapes, one long and one short. The pattern inside likewise varies, being composed of double lines or other fillings. Pl. XXXIII: B 143; XXXV: E 32; XXXVI: C 4, C 107; XXXIX: D 28; XL: B 132; XLIII: D 5; XLIV: D 12; XLV: C 39; XLVII: C 73, B 94; XLVIII: C 66; XLIX: C 143, B 114, E 55; L: D 38, C 95, B 119; LI: D 49.

56. »Vertical scales».

The same varying types of scales as in 55 can be applied in a way which gives a totally different impression. They are either hung in circles round the body, one row below the other, thus filling the surface, with the convex end downwards; or they adorn the base: a circle of vertically hanging scales, also with the convex end pointing downwards; or they form a band with the convex end pointing upwards. In the last variety they are sometimes a little reminiscent of the »rising blades» of 24 above, but there is always a clear distinction and no confusion is possible. On some vessels a circle of upward-pointing vertical scales forming the rim give an impression of a kind of crown. Pl. XXXIV: B 142, C 64; XXXV: C 140; XXXVIII: C 80; XXXIX: C 103; XL: D 4; XLII: C 166; XLIV: C 40; XLVI: B 118, C 83; XLIX: C 143; LI: D 49.

57. »Wavy line».

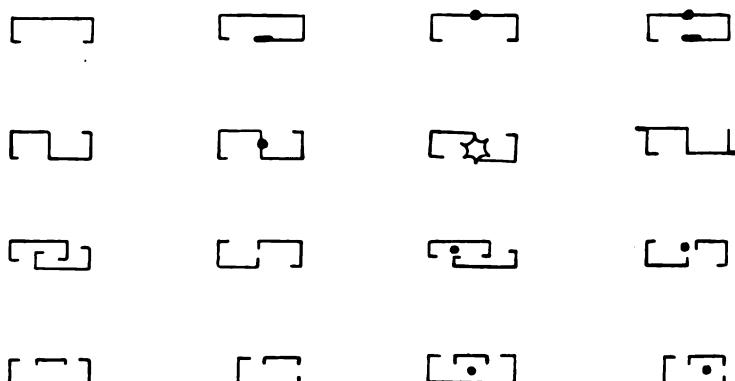
This is a large meander line running all round the body, either at the rim or at the belly or at the base. It may be a simple line or a broad band; a simple meander movement  or one broken in various ways, e. g.  Pl. XXXV: C 140; XLII: C 166; XLIII: D 5; XLIV: D 12; XLVI: B 118; XLVII: B 94; XLVIII: C 66; XLIX: B 88, B 114, C 173, E 55; L: B 119, E 56, LI: C 193.

58. »Broad figured band».

This not very expressive term sums up a long series of varieties of one of the most important decorative motifs of the Middle Chou style. A broad band, mostly round the neck, but sometimes also differently placed, is filled with certain conventionalized figures (some of them very likely derived from animal figures), repeated all alike all round the body:



They are C- or S-shaped flourishes and such-like figures in various combinations and varieties, and they are always carried out in broad band-like lines, vigorous and large. Some of them, the simple C and S, are exactly the C and S of the Yin style (29 above) in their variants »drawn out in points», but distinguished from a proper Yin pattern by their disposition: prone in a regular band. The figures of this element 58 vary infinitely in the details of their execution, but they can generally be reduced in principle to 16 figures indicated in the following skeleton drawings:



Some examples of the most common of these figures are given here: Pl. XXXIV B 142, C 64; XXXV: E 42, C 140; XXXVIII: B 90, C 80; XXXIX: C 103; XL: D 4; XLI: B 133; XLII: C 1; XLIV: C 40; XLV: B 120, C 39; XLVI: B 118, C 83; XLVII: B 94; XLVIII: C 66, C 34; XLIX: B 114, B 88, C 14, C 143; L: C 133, E 56, B 119; LI: B 96, C 194, C 144, C 193, C 34.

59. »Back-to-back dragons».

This element is not entirely unheard-of in earlier periods — the Tsun A 108 has it in a subordinate place as a filling at the side of a dominating t'ao-t'ie. But in Middle Chou this motif is placed as the central and dominating group of a décor. Pl. XXXVII: C 8; XLIII: D 9; XLVI: B 118; XLVII: C 73, B 94; L: C 55; LI: B 96 (altered).

We now pass in review the vessels of cat. B II (second half of Western Chou, 946—771) on the basis of their criteria.

- B 78.** Ting. 8 cylinder legs; this vessel is still in the old Yin-Chou style.
- B 79.** Kuei. 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
- B 80.** Kuei. 55 scale band; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band; apparently also a 14 free animal's head, though the drawing is indistinct.
- B 81.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves.
- B 87.** Ting. 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.
- B 88.** Ting, our Pl. XLIX. 49 curved legs, 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.
- B 89.** Kuei. Photo Mengwei, Shang 31, our Pl. XLI. 53 grooves.
- B 90.** Sü. Photo Umehara II: 122, our Pl. XXXVIII. Buckingham collection. 47 Sü; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
- B 91.** Sü. 47 Sü; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- B 92.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
- B 93.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.
- B 94.** Chung. Photo Senoku Betsu 9, our Pl. XLVII. 43 Chung; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
- B 95.** P'an. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; a highly dissolved 15 t'ao-t'ie; thus this vessel is in Yin-Chou style rather than in Middle Chou style.
- B 96.** Chung. Our Pl. LI. 58 broad figured band. Below, the 59 back to back dragons have been altered so as to become parts in two birds facing each other.
- B 98.** Kuei. Photo Tch'ou X, XI. This vessel is very unusual both in shape and décor. As far as we can judge from the illustration, there are some reminiscences of the t'ao-t'ie, but the relief is the flat one typical of Middle Chou.
- B 99.** Kuei. 41 tail-raising bird; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band. The drawing is poor.
- B 100.** Chung. Photo Senoku Betsu 1. 43 Chung; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
- B 101.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- B 102.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band.
- B 103.** Hu, lid. 58 broad figured band.
- B 106.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band; a 31 spiral band is probably due to bad drawing.

- B 107.** P'an. 42 P'an; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.
- B 108.** Fu. 45 Fu; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons (very dissolved).
- B 109.** Ting. 39 bent ears; 41 tail-raising bird; 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band.
- B 110.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
- B 114.** Ting. Our Pl. XLIX. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.
- B 115.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
- B 116.** Ting. Our Pl. XXXV. 49 curved legs.
- B 117.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
- B 118.** Photo Wuying 87, our Pl. XLVI. 56 vertical scales; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
- B 119.** Fu. Our Pl. L. 45 Fu; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.
- B 120.** Ih. Photo Shuangkien 21, our Pl. XLV. 46 Ih; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
- B 122.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band.
- B 123.** Chung. Photo Shuangyü 3. This bell, which has 22 snake and 29 spiral filling in the revived Huai fashion (see Summary below), and the 68 spiral boss of Huai, seems very suspect: it is the only Huai style vessel of the whole group B II; is the inscription added later?
- B 124.** Chung. Photo Senoku Betsu 10. 43 Chung; at the bottom big C-shaped figures, back to back, much reminding of the fillings of certain 58 broad figured bands; to the right of them a bird.
- B 125.** Chung. Photo Senoku Betsu 2. 43 Chung; very similar to the preceding; to the right of the bottom figures a 35 whorl circle — an archaizing feature?
- B 126.** Kuei, lid. No distinctive features.
- B 129.** Kuei. Drawing bad and useless.
- B 130.** Kuei, lid. 41 tail-raising bird; 29 spiral filling; Yin-Chou, not Middle Chou style; this confirms our doubts expressed on p. 47 above about the placing of this inscription.
- B 131.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band; at the same time there is 29 spiral filling, which — if we can rely on the drawing in this Sung time catalogue — forms a reminiscence of the Yin-Chou style.
- B 132.** Kuei. Photo Wuying 75, our Pl. XL. 51 footed Kuei; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- B 133.** Photo Mengwei, Shang 34, our Pl. XLI. 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
- B 134.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band.
- B 137.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
- B 138.** Ting. 49 curved legs.
- B 139.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- B 140.** Li. 44 arched Li; 49 curved legs; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes.
- B 142.** Ting. Our Pl. XXXIV. 49 curved legs; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
- B 143.** Ting. Our Pl. XXXIII. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.
- B 144.** P'an. 39 bent ears; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line.
- B 145.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
- B 146.** Sü. 47 Sü; 53 grooves; yet at the same time a band of strongly stylized 23 cicadas.
- B 149.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band (figures very dissolved).

- B 150.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves.
B 151. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves.
B 152. Sü, lid. 58 broad figured band.

So far we have dealt only with vessels (cat. B II) which from their inscriptions can be dated with a high degree of probability in the period 946—771 B. C. Now there are four other main categories: B III, C, D and E¹), in which the great majority of the vessels²) are either contemporaneous with B II (946—771) or later (770—221 B. C.). Out of these, a minor portion belong to the Huai style (see below); the bulk of them are of exactly the same type as the vessels of cat. B II, i. e. Middle Chou, and we thus have to give a long additional list, drawn from categories B III, C, D and E, of Middle Chou vessels:

Royal Court (Cat. B III):

- B 169.** Sü. 47 Sü; 53 grooves; 55 scale band; yet 14 free animal's head, which is an admixture of Yin-Chou, if it is not simply an erroneous drawing in this Sung catalogue.
B 170. Fu. 45 Fu; 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
B 171. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves.
B 172. Kuei. 53 grooves.
B 173. Kuei, lid. 53 grooves.
B 175. Hu. 52 spiral horns; 57 wavy line.
B 176. Ting. 49 curved legs.
B 177. Kuei, lid. 53 grooves; yet 16 common bird.
B 178. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
B 179. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 58 broad figured band (very dissolved); poor drawing.
B 180. Ting. 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band.
B 181. Ting. 49 curved legs; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.
B 182. Kuei, lid. 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons; a slight tendency to 29 spiral filling in some places.

Feudal states:

Ch'en:

- C 1.** Fu. Photo Mengwei, Sü 15. Our Pl. XLII. 45 Fu; 58 broad figured band.
C 3. Kuei. 57 wavy line; at the same time 14 free animal's head; therefore mixed style; but the drawing is too poor to be of real use.
C 4. Ting. Photo Wuying 26, our Pl. XXXVI. 48 shallow Ting; 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.

Cheng:

- C 6.** Fu. 45 Fu; the drawing is too poor to be of any use; a picture postcard from the Palace Museum seems to indicate a good vessel, but does not show the details.
C 6 a. Li. Photo Shierkia 12: 8. 44 arched Li; 55 scale band.
C 7. Kuei. 56 vertical scales; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band; (is there a 14 free animal's head? drawing indistinct).

¹⁾ See p. 113 above, note.

²⁾ A few of them were earlier, C 12—E 76, pp. 113—116 above.

- C 8.** Li. Photo Mengwei, Shang 16, our Pl. XXXVII. 44 arched Li; 59 back to back dragons.
- C 9.** Kuei. Photo Wuying 81. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- C 10.** Ih. 46 Ih; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- C 11.** Sü, lid. Photo Mengwei, Shang 17. 53 grooves.
- C 14.** Hien. Our Pl. XLIX. 39 bent ears; 58 broad figured band.
- C 15.** Li. 44 arched Li; 59 back to back dragons (? very poor drawing).
- C 16.** Hu. 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band; admixture of Huai elements: 29 spiral filling (revived); 66 warts.
- C 17.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band; admixture of Huai: the figures of 58 have been adorned with small dragon heads at the ends, making a crowded 61 interlacer impression. The drawing is poor and probably does no justice to the vessel.

Ch'i:

- C 18.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band.
- C 19.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.

Ch'u⁴:

- C 27.** Fu. 45 Fu; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
- C 27 a.** Fu. Photo Shierkia 6: 9. 45 Fu; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.

Ch'u:

- C 28.** Chung. Picture Mengwei, Shang 2. The analysis of this bell is very difficult; we leave the question open.
- C 34.** Chung series. Photo Senoku Betsu 5—7, our Pl. XLVIII; drawing T'ao 1: 17, our Pl. LI. 43 Chung; 58 broad figured band. A Chung with the same inscription see Huai below.
- C 39.** Ih. Our Pl. XLV, Sedgwick collection. 46 Ih; 53 grooves; 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band; incipient Huai, in so far as the figures of the band are worked out with small bird's heads (61).
- C 40.** P'an. Our Pl. XLIV, Sedgwick collection. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.

Han¹:

- C 42.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.

Hi:

- C 43.** Li. Photo Senoku I: 8. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes; 55 scale band.

Huang:

- C 44.** Ting. Photo Paoyün 23. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band; possibly a very dissolved 15 t'ao-t'ie (photo indistinct).

Juei:

- C 51.** Chung. 43 Chung; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
- C 52.** Chung. 43 Chung; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
- C 53.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.

- C 54.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.
C 55. Li. Our Pl. L. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
C 56. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
C 57. Hu. 56 vertical scales; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
C 58. Fu. 45 Fu; 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
C 59. Hu. Photo Shū-Kan ihō 15. 57 wavy line.
C 60. Ting. 39 bent ears; 49 curved legs; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
C 61. Hu. Photo Wuying 102. 41 tail-raising bird; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.
C 62. Hu. 56 vertical scales; 57 wavy line; for the rest indistinct.
C 63. Fu. 45 Fu; 55 scale band; 59 back to back dragons.
C 64. Ting. Photo Shuangkien 8, our Pl. XXXIV. 39 bent ears; 49 curved legs; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figures band. A slight tendency towards Huai because of the somewhat squat shape (60).

Kao:

- C 65.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band (in a very dissolved variant).

Ki:

- C 66.** Chung. Photo Senoku Betsu 4, our Pl. XLVIII. 43 Chung; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.

K'i:

- C 68.** Ting. 39 bent ears; 49 curved legs; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
C 69. Hu. Photo Ishu 23. 58 broad figured band (strongly dissolved).
C 70. Kuei. Photo Shierkia 5: 16; 51 footed Kuei; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
C 73. Chung. Photo Mengwei, Sü 1, our Pl. XLVII. 43 Chung; 55 scale band; 59 back to back dragons.

Kuo:

- C 74.** Ting. Photo Mengwei, Shang 13. 49 curved legs; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.
C 76. Li. 44 arched Li; 59 back to back dragons.
C 77. Kuei. 39 bent ears; 51 footed Kuei.
C 79. Li. 44 arched Li; 54 vertical stripes.
C 79 a. Li. Photo Shierkia 7: 9. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes; 55 scale band.
C 80. Kuei. Our Pl. XXXVIII, Victoria and Albert Museum (the lid is of wood). 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
C 81. Hu. 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
C 82. P'an. Photo Shuangyü 12. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; photo for the rest too indistinct.
C 83. Hu. Shuangyü 17, our Pl. XLVI. 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.

Lu:

- C 84.** Chung. 43 Chung; 57 wavy line (on handle); the back to back dragons 59 have been altered into some weird birds.

- C 86. Sü. 47 Sü; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
C 87. Ting. 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band.
C 88. Fu. 45 Fu; 58 broad figured band; incipient Huai: 61 interlacery (small crowded dragons with narrow bands crossing the bodies).
C 92. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
C 94. P'an. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; 58 broad figured band.
C 95. Fu. Our Pl. L. 45 Fu; 55 scale band; 59 back to back dragons.
C 96. Kuei. Photo Paoyün 64. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
C 97. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band; Yin-Chou admixture: 14 free animal's head.

Man:

- C 102. Sü. 47 Sü; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.

Mao:

- C 103. Kuei. Photo Paoyün 72, our Pl. XXXIX. 51 footed Kuei; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.

Mei:

- C 104. Ting. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.
C 105. Ting. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.

Pi:

- C 107. Li. MFEA, our Pl. XXXVI. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes; 55 scale band.

P'o:

- C 108. Li. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 58 broad figured band (strongly dissolved).
C 109. Ting. 49 curved legs; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.

Shao:

- C 113. Li. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes; 55 scale band.

Shi:

- C 115. Ting. Photo Paoyün 25. 39 bent ears; 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band.
C 116. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.

Sie:

- C 117. P'an. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.

Su:

- C 118. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
C 119. Kuei. Photo Paoyün 66. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
C 121. Ting. Photo Mengwei, Shang 11, our Pl. XXXIII. 48 shallow Ting; 49 curved legs; the filling of the band cannot be seen from the photograph.
C 123. Ting. 49 curved legs.

Tan:

- C 133. Li. Our Pl. L. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 59 back to back dragons.
C 134. P'an. Photo Shuangyü 13, too indistinct.

Teng:

- C 185. Kuei, lid. Photo Mengwei, Sü 21. 53 grooves; possibly 58 broad figured band (photo indistinct).
C 186. Ting. Photo Mengwei, Shang 12. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.
C 187. Hu, lid. 58 broad figured band.

Tseng:

- C 140. Hu. Our Pl. XXXV. 56 vertical scales; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.
C 141. Fu. 45 Fu; 56 vertical scales; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band; incipient Huai: tendency to 61 interlacery.
C 143. Ting. Our Pl. XLIX. 39 bent ears; 49 curved legs; 55 scale band; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band. Also photo Shuangyü 9.
C 144. P'en. Our Pl. LI. 58 broad figured band. Photo Shuangyü 15, very indistinct.

Ts'i:

- C 146. P'an. No distinctive features.
C 148. Ih. No distinctive features.
C 153. P'an. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; 58 broad figured band; in the latter there is apparently a tendency towards Huai (61 interlacery, 68 spiral circle), but the drawing is so bad that nothing can be built on it.
C 154. Ih. 46 Ih; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves.
C 155. Hu. 55 scale band; 57 wavy line.
C 156. Hu. No distinctive features.
C 160. Chung. 43 Chung; below, figures such as occur in 58; poor drawing.
C 163. Ting. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.
C 164. Li. 44 arched Li; 59 back to back dragons.
C 166. Kuei. Photo Paoyün 74, our Pl. XLII. 56 vertical scales; 57 wavy line; tendency towards Huai: baroque animal handles. For Huai vessels with the same inscription see below.
C 169. Kuei, lid. 57 wavy line; tendency towards a Huai: 61 interlacery.

Tsin:

- C 172. Ting. 39 bent ears; 49 curved legs; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band (very dissolved); very badly drawn.
C 173. Ting. Our Pl. XLIX. 49 curved legs; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.
C 174. Kuei. Photo Shuangkien 16. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves.

Wei:

- C 177. Li. 44 arched Li; 49 curved legs; 59 back to back dragons.
C 179. Fu. 45 Fu; 58 broad figured band; incipient Huai: 61 interlacery.
C 180. Hu. No distinctive features.
C 181. Fu. 45 Fu; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragon.

Wu (Yü):

- C 184. Fu. Drawing bad and useless.
C 185. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves.

Ying:

- C 191. Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.

Yü:

- C 193.** Hu. Our Pl. LI. 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.

State X:

- C 194.** P'an. Our Pl. LI. 39 bent ears; 58 broad figured band.

- C 195.** Kuei. Photo Shierkia 5: 17. 51 footed Kuei; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.

Chou clan names:

- D 2.** Kuei. 53 grooves.

- D 4.** Photo Mengwei, Shang 26, our Pl. XL. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.

- D 5.** Fu. Photo Mengwei, Sü 11, our Pl. XLIII. 45 Fu; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line.

- D 6.** Kuei. 53 grooves.

- D 7.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.

- D 8.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.

- D 9.** Fu. Our Pl. XLIII. 45 Fu; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons.

- D 10.** Fu. 45 Fu; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line.

- D 11.** Ih. 46 Ih; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.

- D 12.** P'an. Photo Paoyün 78, our Pl. XLIV. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line.

- D 14.** Li. Photo Senoku I: 9. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes.

- D 16.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line.

- D 17.** Li. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes.

- D 19.** Sü. 47 Sü; 53 grooves.

- D 20.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.

- D 22.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band; below the scales a narrow border of 29 spiral filling — looks very suspect (Sung catalogue).

- D 23.** Li. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 57 wavy line; possibly an incipient Huai element: 66 warts (the drawing ambiguous).

- D 24.** Li. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes.

- D 25.** Li. Photo Senoku I: 7, our Pl. XXXVII. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes.

- D 26.** Li. Photo Umehara II: 96, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes.

- D 27.** Ih. 46 Ih; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band.

- D 28.** Kuei. Photo Paoyün 68, our Pl. XXXIX. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.

- D 29.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.

- D 31.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.

- D 32.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band; badly drawn.

- D 33.** Kuei. Photo Umehara II: 118, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 51 footed Kuei; the photo indistinct whether spiral filling or not.

- D 36.** Hu. 55 scale band; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band; incipient Huai: 29 spiral filling (revived), 66 warts.

- D 37.** Li. 44 arched Li; 59 back to back dragons.

- D 38.** Li. Our Pl. L. 44 arched Li; 54 vertical stripes; 55 scale band.

- D 41.** Fu. 45 Fu; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons (very dissolved) with a tendency to Huai 61 interlacery.

- D 42.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
- D 45.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band.
- D 46.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
- D 47.** Hu. No distinctive features.
- D 48.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
- D 49.** Hu. Our Pl. LI. 55 scale band; 56 vertical scales. Late Middle Chou.
- D 49 a.** Ting. Photo Shierkia 11: 21. 58 broad figured band; (the curve of the leg 49 is hidden under an animal's head).
- D 50.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
- D 51.** Kuei. No distinctive features.
- D 52.** Ih. 46 Ih; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- D 53.** Li. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes.
- D 55.** Li. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes.
- D 56.** Li. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 54 vertical stripes.
- D 57.** Ih. 46 Ih; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- D 58.** Sü. 47 Sü; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- D 59.** Ting. Photo Shierkia 7: 6. 49 curved legs (here the legs are curved, though very slightly; Shan 2: 55 draws them straight — bad drawing or a real difference between two vessels of the same set?).
- D 62.** Kuei. 39 bent ears; 51 footed Kuei; 58 broad figured band; archaizing feature: 36 vertical ribs.
- D 63.** P'an. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; 58 broad figured band.
- D 64.** Ih. 46 Ih; 53 grooves.
- D 66.** Li. 44 arched Li; 49 curved legs; 59 back to back dragons.
- D 67.** Ting. 49 curved legs.
- D 68.** Ho. The vessel looks dreadful, but the drawing may not do it justice, since it has been accepted by an expert like Wu Ta-ch'eng. 58 broad figured band strongly corrupted.
- D 69 a.** Ting. Photo Shierkia 5: 6. 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band.
- D 70.** Ting. Photo Wuying 24. 48 shallow Ting; 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band; very unusual pointed legs.
- D 72.** Fu. 45 Fu; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band.

X-fu names:

- E 5.** Kuei. Photo Tch'ou XIII. Difficult to place: it seems to have 52 spiral horns, and at the same time 29 spiral filling; the shape of the vessel also is very unusual.
- E 6.** Sü. 47 Sü; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
- E 8.** Ting. 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.
- E 9.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- E 11.** Kuei, lid. 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
- E 12.** Ting. 39 bent ears; 49 curved legs; 55 scale band.
- E 13.** Kuei. lid. 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- E 14.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- E 16.** Li. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 57 wavy line.
- E 17.** Li. Mixed Yin-Chou and Middle Chou styles: 15 t'ao-t'ie; 29 spiral filling; 39 bent ears; 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges.
- E 19.** Kuei, lid. 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- E 21.** Kuei. 58 broad figured band in a very corrupted form.
- E 23.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
- E 26.** Sü. 47 Sü; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.

- E 27.** Photo Paoyün 70. 51 footed Kuei; 52 spiral horns(?); 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- E 28.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- E 30.** Ting. 49 curved legs.
- E 31.** Sü, lid. Photo Mengwei, Shang 18. 47 Sü; 53 grooves; but the handles are in shape of free-sculptured 19 trunked dragons — archaizing feature.
- E 32.** Hu. Our Pl. XXXV. 52 spiral horns; 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band.
- E 33.** Fu. Photo Mengwei, Sü 14. 45 Fu; 56 vertical scales; the latter are of a late type, and there is an incipient Huai feature: 23 cicada (revived, very stylized).
- E 34.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- E 35.** Ih. 46 Ih; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- E 41.** Ting. 49 curved legs.
- E 42.** Ting. Our Pl. XXXV. 39 bent ears; 48 shallow Ting; 49 curved legs; 58 broad figured band.
- E 43.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 56 vertical scales; 58 broad figured band.
- E 44.** Fu. 45 Fu; 55 scale band; 57 wavy line.
- E 45.** Ting. 49 curved legs; for the rest indistinct.
- E 47.** Fu. 45 Fu; 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band; 59 back to back dragons; the latter strongly corrupted with a Huai tendency of 61 interlacery.
- E 51.** Sü. 47 Sü; 53 grooves; 55 scale band; 56 vertical scales (the latter drawn so as to resemble 25 hanging blades, probably bad drawing in this Sung catalogue).
- E 52.** Ting. 58 broad figured band.
- E 53.** Kuei, lid. 53 grooves.
- E 55.** Hien. Our Pl. XLIX. 55 scale band; 57 wavy line.
- E 56.** Tou. Our Pl. L. 57 wavy line; 58 broad figured band. Apparently a feature of incipient Huai: 66 warts.
- E 57.** Ih. 46 Ih; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- E 58.** P'an. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; 58 broad figured band.
- E 59.** Sü. 47 Sü; 53 grooves; incipient Huai feature: 23 cicada (revived, highly stylized).
- E 62.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 53 grooves; 55 scale band. Photo of lid Shuangkien 15
- E 64.** Hien. A square shape which is late; 39 bent ears.
- E 69.** Hu. 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band, very corrupted. Poor drawing.
- E 70.** Li. 44 arched Li; 50 fin flanges; 57 wavy line. Poor drawing.
- E 71.** Photo Shuangyü 8. 49 curved legs.
- E 72.** Kuei. 51 footed Kuei; 52 spiral horns; 53 grooves; 55 scale band.
- E 73.** Ting. 49 curved legs.
- E 75.** Photo Shierkia 5: 20. Kuei, lid. 53 grooves; 58 broad figured band.
- E 77.** Li. Photo Shierkia 6: 5. 44 arched Li; 54 vertical stripes; 55 scale band.

In the preceding lists of vessels from categories B II, B III, C, D and E we have had to eliminate 16 vessels (B 98, 126, 129; C 3, 6, 28, 134, 146, 148, 153, 156, 180, 184; D 47, 51; E 5) which were either too inferior in quality or too badly drawn, or too void of distinctive features to be of any use. Further 3 vessels (B 78, 95, 130) which have Yin-Chou style (archaizing), and one (B 123) in Huai style (spurious?). We have furthermore 9 cases of admixture of Yin-Chou elements (B 125; C 97; D 62; E 17, 31 and B 131, 146, 169; D 22), the last 4 of which, however, are from somewhat unreliable Sung-time

sources. We have 15 cases (C 16, 17, 39, 64, 88, 141, 166, 169, 179; D 36, 41; E 33, 47, 56, 59 — none of which in cat. B, Western Chou) of admixture of Huai elements.

After all these reductions we have a bulk of 240 clear Middle Chou vessels.

THE HUAI STYLE.

The beginning of the Huai style cannot be dated with such remarkable accuracy as that of the Middle Chou style. We find it clearly attested in the 6th century, and it lives on down to the Ts'in dynasty. The Huai-style objects are — apart from the bells — but rarely inscribed. Hence our material, which comprises exclusively inscribed vessels, are very meagre in regard to the Huai style, and in determining some of its principal features we have to refer, for corroboration, to uninscribed vessels recorded in Umebara, Eumorfopoulos, Senoku, Wuying and other sources. The Huai art has three principal components:

Yin style elements, obsolete in the Middle Chou style but now revived. These are: 14 free animal's head; 15 t'ao-t'ie (in a modified form); 22 snake; 23 cicada; 24 rising blades; 25 hanging blades; 28 scaled animals; 29 spiral filling; 33 interlocked T's; 35 whorl-circle. Some examples of these are to be found in our illustrations:

14. LIII: D 30.
22. LIV: C 152; LV: C 98; LVIII: C 24, C 25.
24. LV: C 98; LVII: C 35; LVIII: C 145, C 182.
25. LII: C 183; LVI: D 43; LVII: C 120.
28. LV: C 98.
29. LV: C 98; LVI: D 43; LVIII: C 124, C 182, C 24, C 25.
35. LV: C 98.

Middle Chou elements. These are: 43 Chung; 45 Fu; 46 Ih; 49 curved legs. Examples:

43. LV: C 34, C 98; LVII: C 129; LVIII: C 124, C 145, C 182, C 24, C 25.
45. LVII: C 46, C 29.
46. LVI: C 186, C 5.
49. LVI: C 128, C 126; LVII: C 120.

New elements of its own. These are:

60. »Squat Ting».

This is a very broad Ting, low in proportion to its breadth, which became later the regular type in Han time. Pl. LVI: C 126.

61. »Interlacery».

Under this very general denomination we have brought together a number of elements which are apparently very heterogeneous but which have a certain

affinity: there are snakes or dragons or snakes with bird's heads with the bodies interlaced; there are mere bands or lines similarly interlaced; there are small dragons which are not directly interlaced (the coils do not cross each other) but which are crowded so as to lie enfolding or gripping each other, a teeming mass of writhing bodies. Pl. LIII: D 30; LIV: C 152; LVI: C 128, C 126, D 43, C 186; LVII: C 29, C 120, C 171, C 129; LVIII: C 124, C 145.

62. »Hooks».

This is the element called »teeming hooks and volutes» in »Exhibition of early Chinese Bronzes»: a crowded pattern made up of comma-shaped little hooks etc. Pl. LII: C 183; LV: C 34.

63. »Plait».

The plait pattern. Pl. LVI: C 151.

64. »Rope».

The rope pattern. Pl. LVII: C 35.

65. »Rings on lid».

Rings placed vertically on lids. Pl. LIV: C 147.

66. »Warts».

This may serve as an expressive short term for the small bosses or studs which mark the eyes of dragons, or such-like point-shaped elements of the decoration. Pl. LIII: D 30; LVI: C 186, C 5; LVIII: C 182.

67. »Dots».

The dot-filling or dotted lines. Pl. LVIII: C 24, C 25.

68. »Spiral circle».

This is different from the »whorl circle» above (35) in that the circle or flat boss is filled with one single spiral. Pl. LVII: C 129.

69. »Huai geometrical patterns».

Various geometrical patterns, peculiar to the Huai style, see e. g. Umehara vol III *passim*. Pl. LVI: C 151.

We now pass in review our Huai vessels:

Ch'en:

C 2. Fu. 45 Fu; 61 interlacery; 66 warts.

C 5. Ih. Our Pl. LVI. 46 Ih; 61 interlacery; 66 warts.

Chu¹:

- C 24. Chung. Our Pl. LVIII. 43 Chung; 22 snake; 29 spiral filling; 67 dot filling.
C 25. Chung. Our Pl. LVIII. 43 Chung; 22 snake; 29 spiral filling; 67 dot filling (in the middle of the lower field, cf. the drawing Huaimi, Hia 2).
C 26. Chung. Drawing bad and useless.

Ch'u:

- C 29. Fu. Our Pl. LVII. 45 Fu; 61 interlacery.
C 30. Chung. 43 Chung; 29 spiral filling (of the square, tightly compressed Huai type).
C 31. Chung. 43 Chung; 61 interlacery; 66 warts; 68 spiral circle; Middle Chou reminiscences: 58 broad figured band, very dissolved; 59 back to back dragons, corrupted.
C 32. Urn. No really distinctive features; the handles seem to indicate Huai, but the drawing is too poor to say anything definite.
C 33. Ting. Useless photo in Hueik'ao sü 34, good photo in Shierkia 1: 2. 69 Huai patterned décor; the P'an with the same inscription, Shierkia 10: 25, is plain, with no distinctive criteria.
C 33 a. Fu. Photo Shierkia 10: 18. 45 Fu; 69 Huai patterned décor.
C 34. Chung. Photo Tch'ou XXIII, our Pl. LV. 43 Chung; 62 hooks; a set of bells with the same inscription in Middle Chou style see above.
C 35. Cup. Our Pl. LVII. 24 rising blades (revived); 64 rope.
C 36. P'an. Photo in Ch'uan ku pie lu. Very tight and small square pattern, quite unlike anything in Yin-Chou or Middle Chou.
C 37. Chung. Drawing bad and useless.
C 38. Hu. In spite of the dreadful drawing, a Huai vessel (61 interlacery) can still be discerned.

Han²:

- C 41. Chung. The famous Piao bells. 43 Chung; 15 t'ao-t'ie (revived); 61 interlacery; 22 snake worked into 68 spiral circle.

Hü:

- C 45. Chung. 43 Chung; drawing very bad, yet Huai style discernible: 29 spiral filling; 61 interlacery.
C 46. Fu. Our Pl. LVII. 45 Fu; Huai with Middle Chou reminiscences: 57 wavy line worked into a crowded Huai pattern of small C spirals.

Jo:

- C 47. Chung. 43 Chung; 24 rising blades (23 cicada); 68 spiral circle; Middle Chou reminiscence: 58 broad figured band.

Lu:

- C 93. P'an. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; 61 interlacery; this latter consists of small, teeming dragons, being a dissolved Middle Chou 58 broad figured band.

Lü:

- C 98. Chung. Photo Eumorfopoulos II: 1, our Pl. LV. 43 Chung; 22 snake; 24 rising blades; 28 scaled animal (snake); 29 spiral filling; 35 whorl circle; 64 rope.

Shao:

- C 114. Hu. 61 interlacery; 66 warts; poor drawing.

Su:

- C 120.** Ting with lid. The drawing is very ugly, but as so often it probably does no justice to the vessel, which is interesting because of its combination of elements. Our Pl. LVII. 39 bent ears; 49 curved legs; Huai: 25 hanging blades (derived from cicadas); 61 interlacery; admixture of Middle Chou: 55 scale band.

Sung:

- C 124.** Series of bells, of which one our Pl. LVIII. In spite of the dreadful drawing in the Sung catalogue, the Huai character of these bells is obvious: 61 interlacery (coiling snakes or dragons at the bottom); 29 spiral filling (in the tight, square Huai version) on the suspending bow; for the rest the drawing defies analysis.

- C 125.** Lid. 65 rings on lid.

- C 126.** Ting. Our Pl. XLVI. The drawing is ugly but the vessel is interesting. 39 bent ears; 60 squat Ting; 61 interlacery; reminiscence of Middle Chou: 56 vertical scales (in a late version).

- C 127.** Lid. Evidently a Huai piece, but too badly drawn to be relied on.

Sü:

- C 128.** Ting. Our Pl. LVI. 49 curved legs; 61 interlacery.

- C 129.** Chung. Our Pl. LVII. 43 Chung; 61 interlacery; 66 warts(?); 68 spiral circle.

- C 130.** Chung. 43 Chung; 62 hooks.

- C 132.** Chi. No distinctive features.

Ts'ai:

- C 139 a.** Ih. Photo Shierkia 6: 17. 46 Ih; 61 interlacery; 64 rope.

Tseng:

- C 142.** Fu. Photo Wuying 38 is unfortunately indistinct; from the shape and the analogy with Umebara 178 it seems likely that it is a Huai vessel.

Ts'i:

- C 145.** Series of bells of two types, both in our Pl. LVIII. In spite of the bad drawing in the Sung catalogue, the Huai character is evident: on the Po bell, 61 interlacery, and the very baroque suspending part; on the Chung bells, 24 rising blades, 61 interlacery, probably also 66 warts.

- C 147.** Tuei. Photo Umebara III: 203, our Pl. LIV. 65 rings on lid.

- C 151.** Tou. Our Pl. LVI. 63 plait.

- C 152.** Kuei. Photo Eumorfopoulos I: 36, our Pl. LIV. The dominant feature is Huai: 61 interlacery; strong admixture of Middle Chou: 55 scale band; 58 broad figured band; crown on lid in shape of 57 wavy line.

- C 158.** Chung. 43 Chung; 61 interlacery; 66 warts.

- C 159.** Chung. Drawing bad and useless.

- C 161.** Fu. Postcard photo indistinct. Drawing in Kukien 29: 6 indicates small dragons reminding of Huai. Too uncertain.

- C 162.** P'an. Seems to have 61 interlacery, but the drawing is too bad to be relied upon.

- C 165.** Tan. No really distinctive features; the handles are such as often occur on Huai vessels.

- C 167.** Tuei. Photo Wuying 79. Same inscription as a Kuei treated under Middle Chou above. Placed here because of the handles, cf. next.

- C 167 a.** Spherical vessel. Photo Shierkia 5: 13. 65 standing rings.

C 168. Tuei. No distinctive features.

C 170. Hu. Photo Umehara III: 213. The handle has the Huai modified 15 t'ao-t'ie mask; 69 Huai patterns. This vessel is studied in detail by Professor Andersson.

Tsin:

C 171. An. Our Pl. LVII. 61 interlacery; Middle Chou reminiscence: 57 wavy line.

Ts'in:

C 175. Chung. In spite of the dreadful drawing in the Sung catalogue, the Huai character of the vessel is quite discernible: 61 interlacery; 29 spiral filling; probably also 66 warts.

C 176. Kuei. Photo Tahi t'ulu 127. The dominating feature is Huai: 61 interlacery; admixture of Middle Chou elements: 53 grooves; 57 wavy line.

Wu (Kou-wu, Kung-wu):

C 182. Set of bells. Our Pl. LVIII. 43 Chung; 22 snake; 24 rising blades; 29 spiral filling; 66 warts. The snake heads protruding from the central square-spiral filled field are fairly well discernible on the Sükia vessel, but not on the Shan vessel reproduced in our plate; a picture postcard of the Palace Museum shows the warts very clearly but for the rest gives no information.

C 183. Kien. Our Pl. LII, Oeder collection. 25 hanging blades; 62 hooks.

Yen:

C 186. Ih. Our Pl. LVI. 46 Ih; a crowded pattern kindred to 61; 66 warts.

Chou clan names:

D 1. Chung. 61 interlacery. Very poor drawing.

D 3. Ih. Drawing (or vessel?) very bad.

D 15. P'an. 39 bent ears; 42 P'an; 61 interlacery. Poor drawing.

D 18. Hu. 61 interlacery; 66 warts; Middle Chou reminiscences: 52 spiral horns; a band round the neck which may be a badly dissolved 58. The drawing is very poor, and probably does no justice to the vessel recorded by Wu Ta-ch'eng.

D 30. Urn. Our Pl. LIII. Seligman collection. 14 free animal's head; 61 interlacery; 66 warts.

D 35. Hu. 29 spiral filling; an interlaced pattern which suggests Huai, somewhat reminding of 33 interlocked T's; 64 rope; drawing in Kukien bad and useless; picture postcard of the Palace Museum shows the vessel to be good.

D 43. Tou. Our Pl. LVI. 25 hanging blades; 29 spiral filling; a crowded pattern reminding of certain variants of the 61 interlacery.

X-fu names:

E 10. Bad and useless.

E 15. Hu. Probably 61 interlacery and 66 warts; drawing very bad and unreliable in the Sung catalogue.

E 20. Ih. 46 Ih; 29 spiral filling; 61 interlacery.

E 50. Hu. Very badly drawn, but probably a Huai vessel (a. o. 25 hanging blades); useless.

After the elimination of 16 cases (C 26, 32, 37, 127, 132, 142, 159, 161, 162, 165, 168; D 1, 3; E 10, 15, 50) which are too bad vessels or too poor drawings or indifferent vessels, we find 38 pure Huai vessels and 9 Huai vessels with admixture of Middle Chou elements (C 31, 46, 47, 120, 126, 152, 171, 176; D 18).

SUMMARY.

As a point of departure for our summary we revert once more to our remark on p. 86 above: there is a striking parallelism between the period distinctions of the inscriptions and the distinctions of style. By purely epigraphical arguments we have set aside a group of 337 vessels, 303 of which are such as can be built upon for stylistic studies (see p. 109), as having been made in Yin time: their characters *ya*, *si tsi sun*, *ku* never (with 2 exceptions, see p. 23) occur in our 649 inscriptions which contain Chou-time names and facts. Here we now find that the style elements (43—58) which are the most common ones in vessels with Chou-time inscriptions (containing Chou names and facts) — occurring indeed in 264 out of 431 adequately illustrated specimens with Chou inscriptions (see p. 129) — never occur in our 303 vessels with Yin inscriptions (*ya*, *si tsi sun*, *ku*).¹⁾ And, as we have already preliminarily stated on p. 87 above: the epigraphic and the stylistic distinctions coincide even more in detail; when we divide the Western Chou epoch (1122—771 B. C.) into two halves according to the inscriptions: a first half (1122—947) and a second half (946—771), we find that there is a corresponding stylistic distinction, with but very few exceptions and irregularities: the vessels which the inscriptions date in the first period (1122—947) have in all essentials preserved the Yin style (Yin-Chou style period); the vessels which the inscriptions date in the second period (946—771) show a new and entirely revolutionized style, the Middle Chou style, which not only fills these centuries to the absolute exclusion of the earlier art (that of Yin and Yin-Chou) but also lives on for several centuries of Eastern Chou (from 770 B. C.). Nothing could be more convincing as to our right to draw typological conclusions from the chronological categories which the inscriptions have enabled us to establish.

THE YIN STYLE.

We shall now first turn to the Yin time vessels and the Yin style and state the extremely important fact that already in Yin time the Chinese bronze art had reached its apogee such as Western authors have generally admitted only in the case of the Chou epoch. There is a richness and variety in types and forms of vessel, technique and decorative motifs which necessarily presupposes a great many centuries of vigorous and varied evolution.

Of types of vessel we have a very great variety. A whole series of the Yin types — 1 square Ting, 2 Li-ting, 3 Yu, 4 Ku and Tsun, 5 Yi, 6 Tsüe and 7 Kuang — are fully and richly developed in Yin time, some of them in many varieties, and they live on through the epigonous period of Yin-Chou, only to disappear entirely in Middle Chou and Huai (we shall revert presently to this question). In this respect, then, the Yin period was already the richest of the four periods.

¹⁾ There are, as we have seen (p. 109), only 3 exceptions to this rule.

The decoration of the body of the vessel ranges from extreme simplicity to extreme overloaded richness. We have an entirely plain body (none the less far from »primitive«, on the contrary very elegant), e. g. Pl. V: A 96; a plain body with only one or several horizontal lines, (Pl. XXIII: A 67); a plain body with only an animal's head in free sculpture and whorl-circles (whorl-bosses) (Pl. XXVI: A 86); a plain body with only a narrow band at the neck or at the base, filled with some very simple geometrical pattern (Pl. XXXII: A 80; XXIX: A 43); a broader band or several bands filled with geometrical patterns or with animal figures, or with badly dissolved animal figures on their way to becoming mere geometrical patterns (III: A 246; IV: A 247; VII: A 193; XVII: A 269); the whole body filled with various patterns, often extremely crowded (V: A 20; XIV: A 145; XXIII: A 287; XVIII: A 54).

The distribution of the decoration over the body is of two widely different kinds. Sometimes it is determined by keel-like flanges, which divide the body in regular sections or panels (VI: A 38); this sectional arrangement either concerns the whole vessel, the flanges stretching from top to bottom (XXII: A 110; XXIII: A 287); or it concerns only parts of the body (III: A 246; XIX: A 124). Sometimes, on the contrary, there are no flanges at all, and the decoration is freely disposed over the surface (IV: A 247; XVII: A 107, A 269).

The elements of the decoration vary considerably.

There are animals: dragons of many kinds (17—21), birds of several kinds (16), snakes (22), t'ao-t'ie (15), cicadas (23), more rarely elephants; sometimes they are quite realistic (Pl. I: A 1, A 2; II: A 24; XXXII: A 122), sometimes less so (Pl. III: A 246; IV: A 247; VII: A 193; XXXII: A 208), sometimes so badly dissolved (e. g. cicadas into blades, 24, 25, or the animal in three sections, 27) that only a very attentive eye can detect that they are not simply geometrical patterns.

There are various geometrical patterns: spirals of various kinds (29, 30, 31), circle-filled bands (34), whorl-circles (35), surfaces filled with compound lozenges (32), series of T-shaped scores (37), surfaces filled with interlocked T's (33), crescent-cornered quadrilaterals (38). These various patterns may be fully preserved, but they may also be badly dissolved. Already in Yin time we have examples of the whorl-circle being corrupted into a circle filled with small circles (a common feature in Huai, cf. White, *The Tombs of old Lo-yang*).

The ground between the decorative elements may be bare or else filled with spiral patterns (29, »lei-wen»).

The technique of the decoration varies just as widely. There are patterns executed only in a thin thread relief (Pl. XIX: A 219); others are effected by the contours being engraved (Pl. VI: A 38, legs); there is very low and flat relief, which causes the surface to give a perfectly smooth and even impression (Pl. IV: A 247; IX: A 159); there is a higher and more plastic relief (Pl. II: A 6); there is a very vigorous and extra high relief, which makes the elements

stand out almost as if sculptured (Pl. III: A 28). Eyes of animals may be slightly protruding (Pl. III: A 246) or strongly protruding (Pl. II: A 24). Lower or higher spikes (12) may stand out from the surface.

The accessories to the body of the vessel can also vary infinitely. The legs may be stiff, straight, cylindrical (8), or they may be richly sculptured animals (dragons, birds, 9). The legs may be bare (Pl. II: A 24) or adorned with animal's heads (Pl. I: A 2) or with cicada-blades (Pl. II: A 6). The handles of Kuei may be very simple, with just a plain animal's head (Pl. XI: A 302), or more elaborated (Pl. XIV: A 145). The handles of Lei may or may not have rings (Pl. XXVI: A 86; XXX: A 92). The handles of Yu may be plain (Pl. XXIV: A 226) or decorated (Pl. XX: A 56) or twisted (Pl. XXIII: A 287). The lids may have flat, disc-shaped handles (Pl. XX: A 56) or they may have knobs, the latter either spherical or peaked in various ways (10).

We have insisted on this extreme variety, because our materials prove that the first great classical art in China was mature, finished, ready in all its details and in all its infinite varieties already in Yin time, and there was but little to add in early Chou time.¹⁾

¹⁾ Dr. Nils Palmgren in «Exhibition of Early Chinese Bronzes» has placed various vessels in the Middle Chou category on the strength of elements frequently occurring already in Yin time:

Pl. XVII. Kuei belonging to Mr. Ernst Trygger. Palmgren (p. 107): «The style is typical Middle Chou with, on the whole, a smooth body and the décor executed in relatively narrow, horizontal zones in low relief, with raised portions only here and there, e. g. for eyes and animal masks. Typical features, too, are the low, horizontal lines of the foot and the gentle curves of the handles. . . . Round the bottom of the lid is a decoration consisting of a band of kuei motifs repeated eight times. The conventionalism of the design is carried to extremes, and apart from the eyes there are no longer any naturalistic details observable. Around the top of the body is a similar decoration: a band of eight kuei. In two places these are separated by heads of beasts of prey in high relief». We have seen above that all these elements occur in Yin time, and are by no means typical of Middle Chou — on the contrary, most of them are excluded there. Moreover, the vessel carries the *ya hing* of the Yin epoch and is therefore included in our Yin list: A 137, criteria 14 free animal's head, 27 animal triple band.

Pl. XVIII. Tsun belonging to the Kunstdindustrimuseum of Copenhagen. Palmgren (p. 108): «The actual t'ao-t'ie masks still retain something of the Yin-Chou style's archaic features, but the vessel's soft silhouette, large undecorated panels, simple horizontal lines and lack of raised, vertical ridges, all point to the probability of its belonging to the Middle Chou style. Within that style it is best referred to the special group that possesses a high, and, on the whole, varied relief». This vessel is almost identical with a whole series of Tsun which have Yin inscriptions, e. g. A 93 (Pao Yün 99). The criteria adduced by Palmgren suit the Yin period perfectly. The lack of raised vertical ridges (flanges) is by no means an indication of Middle Chou.

Pl. XXI A. Kuei belonging to Mr. A. Jonsson. Palmgren (p. 109): «The vessel is typical of the Middle Chou period. The decoration is in somewhat flat relief with raised portions, such as eyes and animal masks. Large undecorated surfaces predominate on the vessel, and the silhouette shows a gentle curve. The tops of the handles are in the form of harelike heads. The decorative bands contain highly conventionalized kuei, in which the naturalized details, except the eyes, have disappeared. Exactly between the handles, on the upper band, are the masks of beasts of prey in fairly

This is really — or at least should be — no novelty. It is only what the Chinese archæologists have maintained for a long time. In their catalogues we find all these various types classified as Yin (Shang). But whereas the Chinese scholars have never proved them to belong to that time, we now, thanks to the testimony of the *ya hing*, *si tsī sun* and *kū*, are in a position to confirm the guesses of the Chinese collectors by definite proofs.

There are two principal reasons why Western art historians and sinologues have never accepted the Chinese views but have insisted that the great classical art of the type which we here call the Yin style reached its full development not in Yin time but during the many centuries of the Chou dynasty (1122—256).

In the first place, texts have taught us practically nothing of the Yin dynasty, and it has therefore not seemed plausible to imagine this period, remote and probably »primitive», as being a time that could witness the full growth of such a splendid and mature art; about the Chou dynasty, on the other hand, we know a great deal; we have been fully aware that it was a period of great cultural activity: nothing could be more rational than to guess that this great epoch of political expansion and cultural development was the epoch that saw the growth of the classical bronze art from a »primitive» stage up to a rich perfection. This reason is no longer valid. From the An-yang finds we now know what a delicately elaborate art the Yin people were capable of producing, and there is nothing unreasonable in accepting the testimony of the inscribed vessels and attributing the first mature bronze art to them.

In the second place — and perhaps even more important — the attitude of Western students has been due to the fact that they have not suspected or at least not fully realized the existence of the Middle Chou style such as we have determined it in the present paper. And the reason for this, again, is very simple. There were two grand bronze arts of Chinese antiquity: Yin and Huai. The bronze art in between, Middle Chou, is not very beautiful, is not of a really

high relief*. The vessel is a typical Yin or Yin-Chou piece. Criteria: 14 free animal's head, 27 animal triple band (on both neck and base).

Pl. XXI B. Kuei belonging to Mr. Anders Hellström. Palmgren (p. 110): «The vessel is decorated with two bands in low relief, the one on the upper half of the body, the other on the ring-foot. On these bands are circles containing spirals and alternating with highly conventionalized kuei. At the top of the handles are heads resembling those of hares. The style is typical Middle Chou». The vessel is typical Yin or Yin-Chou. Criteria: 15 t'ao-t'ie (badly dissolved), 29 spiral filling, 35 whorl circle.

Pl. XXII. A. Ku belonging to Mr. Anders Hellström. Palmgren (p. 110): «The decoration consists of simple linear elements in low relief, the whole now much decomposed: on the body and foot and the lower part of the collar are kuei and t'ao-t'ie, on the trumpet-shaped upper part of the collar are cicadas». These elements denote not Middle Chou but Yin or Yin-Chou. Criteria: 4 Ku; 15 t'ao-t'ie, 20 winged dragon; 24 rising blades.

Pl. XXII B. Chi belonging to Mr. Anders Hellström. Palmgren (p. 110): «Decoration on the collar: below, a border divided into panels in which are highly conventional bird motifs». The vessel should be placed in Yin or Yin-Chou. Criteria: 24 rising blades, 29 spiral filling.

high and imposing quality (except perhaps in sporadic cases). Hence the foreign collectors have never exhibited any interest in and seldom bought Middle Chou vessels. In the Eumorfopoulos collection catalogue Vol. I, the ritual bronzes anterior to Han are 32 in number, and of these only 3 belong to the Middle Chou style! We have known (or thought we knew) that the Huai style (»Ts'in style«) could not be very much anterior to the Han dynasty. The only art we have really known and appreciated that was earlier than the Huai art was the classical style here called Yin (and Yin-Chou); it was quite naturally considered to be the art which extended throughout the major part of the 8 centuries of the Chou dynasty.

The Chinese scholars have had the advantage over us that they have collected bronzes with a view not only to their artistic value but also to their archæological interest, and notably to their inscriptions. Therefore a collector like Tuan Fang in his *T'ao chai ki kin lu* illustrates 126 ritual vessels anterior to the Han dynasty, and of these no less than 40 belong to our Middle Chou style.

When we find that out of our 431 good illustrated vessels with inscriptions that contain Chou names and facts 240 belong to the Middle Chou style, as against 116 in the classical Yin (Yin-Chou) style, which has hitherto been considered to be *the* art of the Chou; and when the inscriptions clearly indicate that this Middle Chou style set in already about 950 B. C., to the absolute exclusion of the earlier classical style; and, finally, when consequently no more than two centuries (1122—947) remain (possibly less, if we follow the Chu shu ki nien chronology), in which the enormous crop of uninscribed vessels of the classical style would have to be placed, if they were to be products of the Chou epoch; then we can understand that we have entirely to revise our earlier opinions and to accept the testimony of the inscriptions: the classical bronze art was only to a small extent produced in the early centuries of the Chou era (1122—947) and was then only an epigonus art; the great era of that classical art was the Yin dynasty, and it must be the outcome of the activities of great Chinese artists during many centuries of the 2nd millennium B. C.

THE YIN-CHOU STYLE.

The conquest of the Chinese kingdom of Yin by the Chou princes — whether in 1122 or in 1050 or, say, around 1000 B. C. — apparently did not at once materially alter the Chinese civilization. At any rate it did not radically influence its art, such as it is revealed by the bronzes of the first half of Western Chou. The Yin-Chou art was in all essentials an epigonus art. The criteria of the Yin style (1—38) are all to be found in the Yin-Chou period; the general characterization of the Yin bronzes given above (p. 135 ff.) applies equally well to the Yin-Chou.

No doubt it will be possible in future to define various features which are

significant as criteria of this epigonous art as opposed to its predecessor, the original full-blooded Yin style; but this can be done only on the basis of a sufficient number of actual objects or adequate photographs, not of more or less primitive drawings. The material at our disposal permits us only to point out a few modest innovations.

One of these is the breaking up of the regular long segmented flanges into very fantastic, weird-looking hook-like projections. A glance at Pl. XVIII: B 24 will show us that this is a consequence of and a natural final stage in an evolution which makes the T-shaped scores or notches deeper and deeper and ends by cutting through the flanges entirely: the hook-like projections are the result.

Another feature that appears to be an important innovation is the introduction into the decoration of a new type of bird. We have earlier, in the Yin style, both very realistic birds (Pl. I: A 2) and birds with a very long, stylized tail kept horizontal (Pl. VIII: A 260). The new Yin-Chou bird, which becomes a great success and lives on through Middle Chou and Huai, has a vertical, plume-like tail and in most cases a plume-like crest on the head (Pl. XXI: B 36).

An extremely important innovation, though it crops up only very sparingly in Yin-Chou, gaining ground and becoming very common first in Middle Chou and Huai, is a new type of ears (handles). The Yin style ear always started straight from the rim and rose practically vertically. Now, from Yin-Chou and downwards, there appears an ear which starts an inch or two below the rim, projects horizontally at first and then takes an upward vertical turn; what we have here termed the »bent ear« (39).

Of the vessel P'an (round or oval tray or platter) we know of no certain Yin-time example. In Yin-Chou we have a few, and from Middle Chou onwards it becomes common. This type of vessel therefore seems to be an innovation of the Yin-Chou style (42).

The bronze art during the first five kings of the Chou dynasty was thus little more than the aftermath of the Yin art. The first three of them, Wu wang, Ch'eng wang and K'ang wang, had their hands full consolidating the new kingdom, the next two, Chao wang and Mu wang, were the conquerors who started in earnest extending the boundaries of the Chou domains by great and successful warlike expeditions. It was only after the achievements of the latter two that the Chou possessions developed into an empire. Before that it seems in reality to have been limited to the Shensi plain and the Honan regions; the feudal princes subordinate to Chou in more distant parts were but very loosely connected indeed with the house of Chou. The bronze art centres were therefore Shensi and Honan, and it is not astonishing that during this early period (1122—947) the Yin-time art traditions were not broken or superseded by new currents; it is obvious that the art epochs do not necessarily follow the dynastic periods.

It is also but natural that comparatively few vessels in the Yin-Chou style

derive from other parts than the Royal domains and their vicinity. Besides in Royal Chou (Shensi and Honan) we find it in the adjacent states situated in Shensi (the state of Shao) and Honan (the states of Cheng, Jo, Kuo, Man, Pei, Ts'ai, Wei, Ying, Yung), and in the Westernmost part of Shantung bordering on Honan (modern Yen-chou-fu: the states of Chu⁴ and T'eng). Outside this central region we have only two stray vessels from a more distant region: modern Ts'ing-chou-fu in North Central Shantung (the states of Ki and Ts'i).

THE MIDDLE CHOU STYLE.

After the great expeditions of Chao wang and Mu wang — of which we know but little, owing to the scarcity of literary sources concerning the period anterior to 722 B. C., but which must have been very considerable, since they have left traces in the form of various romantic tales in the classical literature of later Chou — the soil was ready to receive new seed. The Chou kingdom had been considerably extended, feudal lords in various peripheral regions had been drawn more intimately into the community of Chou civilization, and the princes and nobles of the Chou Court itself, being members of the suite of the kings, had visited distant parts, received new impressions and very likely come into contact with new ideals of art. In any case it is from the reign of the 6th Chou king, Kung wang (946—935, orthodox chronology) that we have to date the sudden appearance and equally sudden complete victory of a new bronze art, the Middle Chou style.

The introduction of this new style around 950 B. C. was of a character that is highly interesting and which tallies well with the political causes just hinted at.

On the one hand, it was not, so to speak, a land-slide. It was not a foreign conquest which suddenly swept away *all* of the preceding art and introduced a new art that had no historical connection whatever with the Yin-Chou art. On the contrary, there are many and obvious points of contact, and we can clearly see that the inheritance from Yin-Chou time has been worked into the new art on many essential points. There are, for instance, besides more indifferent types of vessel such as Ting tripods and Kuei, the extremely peculiar archaic Chinese types such as Li tripods and Hien boilers; they were taken over from the earlier art, though in a modified form (Pl. XXXVI: C 107; XLIX: E 55, C 14). Again, in the decoration there are quite a number of important features which have been taken over from the earlier epoch. Some of them are unchanged: arched-backed dragon (Pl. XXV: B 155); S-shaped dragon (Pl. XXV: B 153); cleft dragon (Pl. XLVI: B 118); animal heads on handles (Pl. XXXVIII: B 90) and on the upper part of the Ting legs (Pl. XXXIV: B 142); lobes on handles (Pl. XXXVIII: C 80); small flanges dividing the surface in panels (Pl. XXXIX: C 103); the arrangement of an undecorated body with a horizontal band filled with décor (Pl. XXXV: E 42); S- or C-shaped spiral elements (often pronged) on handles

(but not on the body) (Pl. XL: B 132); diagonals (Pl. XLVIII: C 66); rings in the handles (Pl. XXXV: E 32). Others are clearly derived from the Yin (Yin-Chou) style but more or less modified: the simple scales filling animals' bodies in Yin and Yin-Chou here appear in quite new forms (55, 56, cf. below) and arranged in new ways; certain S- and C-shaped figures of the earlier periods are now applied in a particular fashion, lying prone in bands (58, cf. below); the projecting »teeth» which often mark the upper end of the segmented flanges of the earlier periods revert in a modified form on one of the types of Middle Chou vessels, the »arched Li» tripod (Pl. XXXVII: C 8); certain specimens of this Li tripod seem to suggest even that the »back to back dragons» (59) are really a very free translation of the t'ao-t'ie mask of Yin and Yin-Chou (Pl. L: C 133).

On the other hand the innovations are so numerous, so radical and so sudden that we can with equally little justification speak of a natural, organic, slow evolution from the Yin-Chou art into the Middle Chou style. There is every appearance of a very strong and instantaneous influx of new ideas which, without destroying all the elements of the earlier art, revolutionized it so thoroughly that we have to regard it as a fundamentally new art. This influx of new ideas must, we think, be a result of the new policy of expansion pursued by Chao wang and Mu wang; their achievements bore fruit in the time of Mu wang's successor Kung wang, and from that time onwards the Royal Chou and by degrees also the many feudal courts all over Northern China unreservedly espoused the new art as it had been formed on the fundamental basis of the Yin art with a severe paring of archaic elements and a radical admixture of new elements. Whence these new elements were imported is a question which we refrain from attempting to answer at present.

There are various aspects of this revolution in art which call for some further extensive observations.

The types of vessel which disappear entirely are some of the most common and important ones of the earlier period: the square Ting (1), the Li-ting (2), the Yu (3), the Ku and the Tsun (4), the Yi (5), the Tsüe (6), the Kuang (7). This seems to be an extraordinary phenomenon, all the more so as it apparently does not tally with what we know from Chou-time texts. It is true that the Yu is very rarely met with in texts; it occurs practically only in the Shih king; in the Tso chuan we have it once (Hi 28), but there as a ceremonial gift in archaizing style; it never occurs in the Li ki, nor in Lun yü nor Meng tsi. But the Ku and Tsun and the Tsüe are much more enigmatic. These names of vessel occur quite frequently in the texts from the middle period of the Chou era, and it may appear very strange that we should have to assume that these types were utterly rejected from about 950 B. C.

This difficulty seems so serious that we might be tempted to say that the new decorative style (criteria 49—59) concerned only certain types of vessel, particularly the Ting and the Kuei, and some new types: Chung, »arched» Li, Fu,

Ih, Sü (43—47), whereas the square Ting, the Li-ting, the Yu etc. continued to live on in their classical garb and were not exposed to the application of the new elements. But quite apart from the extreme improbability, not so say impossibility, of such an explanation, it fails utterly to account for a fundamental fact: why, if these square Ting, Li-ting, Yu, Ku, Tsun, Yi, Tsüe, Kuang lived on through the middle centuries of the Chou era, though conservative in decoration, should they never bear inscriptions revealing this later period (Middle Chou names and facts), just as well as all the Ting, Kuei, Chung, Fu, Ih, Sü (B II and a great many vessels in B III, C. D and E), which have such inscriptions? That the Ku and Tsüe have no long Chou inscriptions may be explainable by their shape, which is not suitable for more than a few characters (yet many of the well-known short Chou inscriptions could easily be applied to them); but the square Ting, the Li-ting, the Tsun, the Yi and the Yu could have (and had in Yin-Chou time) inscriptions of any length. Therefore, if these types occur neither with the inscriptions posterior to 947 B. C., nor with the decoration typical of the vessels posterior to 947, this must be due to the fact that the said types of vessel became obsolete from that time and were no longer made. This is confirmed by the fact that the Huai style, which we know so well from a great number of vessels, no more than Middle Chou possesses any of these types.

How are we then to explain the occurrence in Middle Chou literature of the vessel names Ku, Tsun and Tsüe? Evidently these names were not so strictly technical as we are disposed to believe. From their very technical and well-defined application in the ritual bronzes of the early period the names were generalized to refer to various secular, household utensils of less specialized kinds, not necessarily made of bronze but of wood and earthenware. That this was so is revealed by the character for Tsun, which occurs sometimes with variants containing the radical *mu* »wood» and *fou* »earthenware». This literary phenomenon cannot therefore disprove our archæological conclusion as to the early disappearance of these ritual types of vessel.

If, then, Middle Chou sweepingly did away with a whole series of the most beloved types of Yin and Yin-Chou vessel, it created several important new ones. In the first place we have the Chung bell (43). The term Chung has often been erroneously used by Western writers; not all bells are Chung. Yin and Yin-Chou had bells (*Nao*, which are illustrated in Pl. XXVIII: A 178). But of real Chung we know of only one alleged Yin-Chou example (B 21). We have already pointed out that this case, besides being quite isolated, offers the peculiarity of a mixture of Yin-Chou and Middle Chou decoration and therefore inspires very little confidence. In any case, one swallow does not make a summer: the Chung became seriously current only from Middle Chou. The square tray, Fu (45), and the Ih »sauce-boat» (46, which should be clearly distinguished from the Kuang, 7 above) were new creations which proved a great success right down through Middle Chou and Huai. Out of the extremely popular Kuei

a new oblong variety, Sü (47), was invented. Out of the Ting they created an extremely graceful variety, the »shallow Ting» (48).

The decoration of the body of the vessel underwent an equally radical change. Most of the ancient animal designs disappear or are so conventionalized that they become unrecognizable. There are still occasionally to be seen arched-backed dragons, cleft dragons and S-shaped dragons; there is even a dragon innovation in that the »back to back dragons» (59) — a feature very rarely met with earlier — now becomes a regular and popular feature. But the »gaping dragon» (17), the »vertical dragon» (18), the »trunked dragon» (19), the »winged dragon» (20) and the »feathered dragon» (21) all disappear. So do the »snake» (22) and the »cicada» (23), and also the »common bird» (16), i. e. the realistic and the long-tailed bird; on the other hand, there are still rare examples of the »tail-raising bird» (48). With the rejection of the cicada follows the disappearance of its derivate, the »blades» (rising blades 24, hanging blades 25, leg blades 26); and the rudimentary animal (animal figure dissolved into three sections, 27) follows suit.

Particularly striking is the disappearance of the most important of all the Yin and Yin-Chou animals, the t'ao-t'ie. There are but very slight reminiscences of it to be observed (B 95) and never any really forceful, realistic t'ao-t'ie heads are found. This element, which Western authors have always insisted on considering to be the element of the mature Chou art, has therefore to be carried back a considerable distance in time: whenever one finds on a ritual vessel a real, vigorous t'ao-t'ie — if it is not the modified Huai style t'ao-t'ie, to which we shall revert below — one can always be certain that the vessel is anterior to about 950 B. C.

The protruding, free-sculptured animal's head, closely akin to the t'ao-t'ie, does not disappear but is subjected to a curious change in position (we disregard here its position on the handles and on the upper part of Ting legs, which occurs all through the four styles). In Yin and Yin-Chou it is placed in the middle of the neck or in the middle of the body (belly) but never at the base; in Middle Chou it is frequent at the top of small Kuei feet, or marks the place where such should be, but it very rarely is seen higher up on the body.

If the number of animals have thus been greatly reduced in the Middle Chou decoration, the same is also the case with the geometrical patterns. A whole series of the most popular elements of this kind belonging to the Yin and Yin-Chou art is ruthlessly abandoned. Thus, the »compound lozenge» pattern (32) and the »interlocked T's» pattern (33), the »circle band» (34), the »whorl circle» (35), the »vertical ribs» (36), the »T scores» (37) and the »square with crescents» (38).

Especially important is the abolition of the spiral patterns (29). Abolition is not the proper word; we should say the reduction in the use of this element. It is a highly curious phenomenon that this pattern, or rather this group of kindred

patterns (cf. p. 92 above), which were ubiquitous in the Yin and Yin-Chou art, are now, without disappearing entirely, relegated to the handles of the vessels (Pl. XL: B 132) and play a very modest part in the décor.

However, also in the matter of decoration the new style has not only discarded, it has also created. There is a whole series of new decorative elements which are introduced and enjoy a high degree of popularity. Some of them are entirely new, others are fresh modulations and fresh applications of earlier existing elements.

First of all there is the scale motif. The simple scales filling the bodies of animals of the Yin and Yin-Chou (28) disappear together with the bulk of the fauna; instead of that, highly conventionalized scales come to form the principal decoration of a great many vessels. These scales, of several varieties, are either placed in bands (55, mostly horizontally) or hang in circles (56) round the body or the base, or point upwards round the neck or else form the rim itself. Secondly there are the godroon-like horizontal grooves (53), a novelty which becomes exceedingly common. In the third place there is the bold meandering line or band (57) which runs in big waves horizontally round the vessel. The «vertical stripe» element (56) is confined to the Li tripods. Last but not least, there is the broad band filled with conventionalized simple or compound figures (58), which is one of the salient features of this style.

In regard to the distribution of the decoration over the body, there are still many cases of vertical flanges (Pl. XXXIX: C 103) which divide the body into sections or panels; but these flanges play nothing like so prominent a part as in the preceding periods. They are mostly quite small and low, and the long, regularly segmented keel-like flanges (13) of Yin and Yin-Chou have disappeared. In their place a new kind of flange has been invented for the Li tripods: a long, thin, fin-like flange (50).

The technique of the decoration is very homogeneous: a low, flat relief. Professor Andersson has pointed out that one of the most characteristic features of the Middle Chou style is the complete abolition of the forceful, high relief: the entire décor is flat and evened down as if it had been polished and rubbed smooth. Graphically, this could be illustrated thus: whereas the Yin and Yin-Chou relief rises in a more or less rounded contour: , the Middle Chou relief gives a square outline: . Excrescences like the spikes (12) of Yin and Yin-Chou are also entirely abolished.

In the accessories to the body of the vessel there are also some radical changes. The most important is the leg of the Ting tripod. This was always straight and cylindrical in Yin and Yin-Chou (8); in Middle Chou it is always curved (49) — more or less bulbous at the top, more or less expanding at the base (see p. 117 above). The new Ting leg lives on down through Huai and Han, and becomes gradually more bulbous, more baroque. This criterion is one of the most certain for the dating of Ting vessels before or after 950. Another very important novelty is the small feet on which the great Kuei class of vessel are

frequently placed; such diminutive feet never existed earlier, and this is a reliable criterion. Further should be mentioned the horns of the animal's heads on the handles. The bottle-shaped horns (11) of the earlier periods now disappear; instead of which there are, as an absolute innovation, the spiral horns (52). The »supporting animals« (9) have entirely disappeared, and so have the »lid knobs« (10) — the top of the lid of the Kuei is always circular (Pl. XXXIX: D 28, C 103).

The Middle Chou style was the result of the widening of the sphere of Chinese civilization from the Shensi and Honan centres to large districts of China North of the Yangtsi. This fact is mirrored in the extension of the area of the new art. It was not a provincial phenomenon. On the one hand, it covered the whole ground of the earlier Yin-Chou art; on the other hand, it gained a considerably wider area than its predecessor. We find good examples of Middle Chou style in the following districts (by C, N, E etc. we shall indicate the position: Central, North, East etc. within the large modern provinces of the capitals of the feudal states):

Shantung: Han¹ (E); Ts'i, Ki (NC); Shī (S); Tseng, Sie, Lu (SW); Kao, Chu⁴ (W); Shansi: Tsin, Yü (S);

Shensi: Shao, K'un-i, Kuo (W); Pi (C); Juei (EC);

Honan: Chou, Mao, Tan (NW); Wei, Su, Kuo (N); Ying (WC); Hi, Cheng (C); K'i (NE); Ch'en (EC);

Hupei: Teng (N); Ch'u (C).

There is a fact which may or may not be of importance: in our material, there are no clear Middle Chou specimens from certain states which, as we shall see below, are well represented in the Huai style:

Shantung: Chu¹ (S, the Southernmost part of Yen-chou-fu);

Honan: Sung (E, Kuei-tê-fu); Ts'ai (SE, Ju-ning-fu);

Anhuei: Sü (N, Sü-chou-fu);

Kiangsu: Wu (S, Su-chou-fu, Ch'ang-chou-fu).

There seems to have been an Eastern states region, comprising Kiangsu, Anhuei, Easternmost Honan and Southernmost Shantung, which was never conquered by the Middle Chou style; and in that very region was one of the strongest centres of the Huai style — the Huai river valley is the heart of the region in question. This observation is given for what it may be worth: conclusions from negative evidence (the lack of Middle Chou specimens from this region in our lists above) are always very risky.

Another caution has to be clearly expressed: though we have given just now a table of the states from which we have positive examples of Middle Chou style, the purport of the table should not be misunderstood; it does not pretend to give a definite and reliable map of the area of the Middle Chou style. In

some cases a state in the table is represented only by one or two vessels, whereas others have a long series; it is difficult to tell how far the Middle Chou style had gained a real foot-hold in the peripheral states, such as Ch'u, Tsin, Ts'i; the data furnished by inscribed vessels are really not sufficient to admit of a statistical computation. We have to be satisfied with the fact that we have positive examples not only from the primary states of the Chou confederacy (the Chung-kuo »Central states», Chou, Kuo, Cheng, Wei, Lu etc.) but also from the regions more distant from Royal Chou.

While we can thus form at least a fairly good idea of the geographical extension of the Middle Chou style, and find that it was not a provincial phenomenon but concerned, besides Royal Chou, large tracts in a greater China North of the Yangtsi-kiang, we are on the other hand entirely at a loss to determine a lower chronological limit for it. This question we shall discuss in connection with the Huai style.

A final word before we leave the subject of the Middle Chou style. The fundamental contrast between the Yin (Yin-Chou) style and the Middle Chou style is such as could not be denied even by the most casual reader of this paper: it is there before our eyes, clearly readable in our illustrations. But a sceptical reader might make an objection in regard to the dating of the transition from Yin-Chou to Middle Chou. It has been determined by us at about 950 B. C., by the exclusive aid of the inscriptions. Is it not possible that we have been too bold, even though we have discarded a great many »datings« considered to be very serious *fauts acquis* by earlier Chinese writers? Have we not accepted testimonies to Chao wang's reign and Mu wang's reign etc. that are in reality too frail? And, above all, when we have attributed certain inscriptions to the first half of Western Chou (1122—947) and certain others to the second half (946—771) solely on the strength of the early or late type of the handwriting, have we not then introduced a highly personal and subjective criterion? These questions may very well be raised.

Let us for the sake of argument concede the point. Let us for a moment accept that sceptical reader's negative views and see what will be the result. Say that we do not build anything upon our epigraphical division of the Western Chou vessels into two groups, one (B I) with inscriptions anterior to 947, and one (B II) with inscriptions posterior to that date. How are we then to treat the problem of the transition from Yin-Chou style to Middle Chou style? Can we then arrive at any conclusion at all as to its probable date? We think it possible to follow a different line of argument — and yet to arrive at practically the same result.

Nobody can seriously deny the fundamental fact that practically all the vessels of cat. B above can be proved at least to be of Western Chou time (1122—771) by aid of their inscriptions. In practically every group (i. e. group of vessels connected by personal names common to them all, e. g. the Shi Yung-

fu group, B 47—54, the *shan-fu* K'o group, B 87—97) there is one or several vessels which give an indication of Western Chou time: the capital Tsung Chou, the residence P'ang king, a vessel connected with the Royal house and excavated in Shensi, a vessel telling of a Royal Chou war expedition against the Huai I Barbarians (unthinkable in Eastern Chou times), and so on. If we now eliminate the inferior or badly drawn or indifferent vessels, and also a few hybrid forms, we have left 129 good vessels, which are all undoubtedly from Western Chou time and have a clear Yin-Chou or a clear Middle Chou style:

Yin-Chou style: B 1—3, 5—7, 9, 10, 12—14, 16—18, 22—26, 30—36, 38, 39, 41—45, 48—53, 55—57, 60—62, 64, 65, 67, 70, 71, 73—78, 95, 130, 153—156, 160—164, 166—168;

Middle Chou style: B 79, 81, 87—94, 96, 99—103, 106—110, 114—120, 122, 123, 131—134, 137—140, 142—145, 149—152, 170—173, 175—183.

We find that these 129 vessels of the Western Chou epoch divide themselves into two fairly equal groups: one of 70 Yin-Chou vessel, one of 59 Middle Chou vessels. Let us now, instead of examining the inscriptions of the vessels in order to arrive at a chronological division, fall back upon statistical probability and base ourselves on the relative number of vessels in each group. We can be authorized to do so, since these 129 vessels have been found on various occasions and in various places during the lapse of centuries, and certainly give a fairly equitable and well-balanced representation of the Chinese bronze art in the centuries 1122—771.

Since all the 129 vessels fall within the period of 352 years of Western Chou and a little more than half of them have the Yin-Chou style, and a little less than half of them have the Middle Chou style, we may be allowed to surmise that the former 70 vessels must reasonably represent the first half, and slightly more, of this period, and the latter 59 vessels must represent a little less than the second half of the period. If we divide the 352 years in half, we obtain two periods of 176 years: one from 1122—947, and one from 946—771. If in our computation of statistical probability we give the Yin-Chou a slight advantage (corresponding to its slightly higher figure 70, as against 59), and estimate roughly 175—200 years for that period, and roughly 150—175 years for Middle Chou, we arrive at a Yin-Chou epoch extending from 1122 to something between 947 and 922, and a Middle Chou epoch, slightly shorter, extending from somewhere between 946 and 921 to 771 B. C. This is practically the same result as that which we obtained above in basing our thesis on epigraphical data.

If we abandon the orthodox chronology: Western Chou 1122—771 B. C., in favour of the Chu shu ki nien chronology: Western Chou 1050—771 B. C., the result of a probability computation will be that the turning-point between Yin-Chou and Middle Chou was somewhere around 900 B. C. The difference is so small that from an archaeological point of view it can be disregarded.

THE HUAI STYLE.

The Huai style of art, a counterpart to the classical Yin art in beauty and force though not in variety, can be divided by analysis into three components: Middle Chou elements, Yin elements and Huai innovations.

The Middle Chou elements in Huai form an interesting chapter. In regard to the decoration, the full, mature Huai art, such as we know it from a great number of fine specimens, especially in Umehara III, Eumorfopoulos I, Senoku, Tch'ou, Wuying, Kümmel's Chinesische Kunst and BMFEA VI, almost consistently rejects the standard elements of the Middle Chou style¹⁾: the scale band (55), the vertical scales (56), the wavy line (57) the broad-figured band (58). The Middle Chou elements which do appear in the Huai style are almost exclusively certain particular types of vessel. Such are the Chung bell (43), the Fu tray (45), the Ih »sauce-boat« (46), and the Ting with the curved legs (49). This, however, constitutes a very strong and important legacy from the Middle Chou to the Huai, for these types of vessel really form the great standard types of the latter art, as far as the ritual bronzes are concerned (Pl. LV—LVIII). In regard to types of vessel, Huai has not revived a single one of those Yin (Yin-Chou) forms which in the 10th century became obsolete through the victory of the Middle Chou style (1—7).

The Yin (Yin-Chou) elements which were revived in Huai and enjoyed a new era of success, are almost entirely décor motifs. A whole series of the most beloved Yin features here reappear, though often in a somewhat modified form.

Among these Yin style elements should first be mentioned the t'ao-t'ie (15), which is now taken up again in a slightly altered form (Umehara 167, 197—199, 202). The snake (22) is a very common feature (Pl. LV: C 98); the scaled animal (28, Pl. LV: C 98) and the free animal's head (14, Pl. LIII: D 30) less so. The rising blade (24) and the hanging blade (25) (Pl. LVIII: C 145; LII: C 183) revert, but now often take on some peculiar forms: either heart-shaped (Pl. LVI: D 43; LVIII: C 182, Umehara 177, 184, 189) or strictly triangular (Pl. LVII: C 35, C 120, Umehara 181, 184, 185, 187, 188). The whorl circle (35) is again a highly prominent feature, often more or less dissolved (Pl. LV: C 98, Umehara 166, 199, 209), and the interlocked T's pattern (33) becomes one of the standard features of Huai art (Umehara 176); it is particularly important on Huai style mirrors (Exhibition of Early Chinese Bronzes Pl. XVII: 2). Finally the spiral filling (29) is revived: it now recurs in a strictly square, tightly condensed pattern, which fills up particularly large square surfaces on the sides of bells and also on the top surfaces and sometimes the handles of bells (LVIII: C 182, C 124).

The original Huai innovations are numerous and radical. In regard to types of vessel the most important is the change which the Ting — the lion among archaic Chinese vessels — has undergone. It has become squat: very broad and

¹⁾ For hybrid vessels see p. 152 below.

low, heavy, with curved legs even more baroque than in the Middle Chou style; The handles are now mostly of the »bent ear» (39) type first created in Yin-Chou time (Pl. LVI: C 126, Umehara 179, 181, 183). This Ting type lives on down through the Han epoch. The rings standing on the lid are another very striking novelty (Pl. LIV: C 147, Umehara 179, 182, 183, 189).

In the decoration there is a whole array of new elements which combine to give the impression of an entirely new art. There is first the »interlacery» element (61), which term indeed includes a whole class of kindred phenomena, as described on p. 130 above. Even if this element can be considered to be not wholly foreign to the earlier art of China — some of the earlier variants of dragons' and snakes' bodies suggest the beginning of the »interlacery» idea — the equally important new element »hooks and volutes» (62) is an entirely new departure, which had no roots whatever in the Yin (Yin-Chou) or Middle Chou arts. The same is true of three other important features of the Huai decoration: the plait pattern (63), the rope pattern (64) and the dot filling (67). The »wart» element (66) seems to have grown out of the raising of the eyes of dragons and birds into »studs», which is akin to a similar raising of the eyes of the t'ao-t'ie in older times. And the spiral circle (68) is at least akin to the whorl circle of Yin and Yin-Chou.

The various geometrical patterns which are new features of the Huai style (69) form such a complicated chapter that we shall not enter upon it here. A fuller discussion of it will be found in a paper by Professor J. G. Andersson.

Our localizable inscribed vessels with a pure and undeniable Huai style are so few that we cannot draw any definite conclusions from them as to the geographical origin and principal centre or centres of this art. Here, as in regard to the Middle Chou style, we had better be satisfied with stating that we have positive examples from the following regions:

Hopei: Yen (N);

Shantung: Ts'i (NC); Chu¹ (S);

Shansi: Lü (S);

Shensi: Ts'in;

Honan: Han² (NW); Hü (C, later SW); Ch'en (EC); Sung (E); Ts'ai (SE);

Hupei: Ch'u (C, later Honan, Anhuei);

Anhuei: Ch'u (NW, earlier Hupei); Sü (N);

Kiangsu: Wu (S).

Besides these there are hybrid vessels, with a mixture of Middle Chou and Huai, in:

Shantung: Lu, Tseng (SW);

Honan: Wei, Su (N); Cheng (C); Jo (SW).

To these localities as places of origin of Huai style vessels can be added two more. On the one hand, Northernmost Shansi, where the famous Li-yü find (of

unknown date, yet from Chou time, as attested by the script form of the inscribed sword) yielded rich Huai specimens. On the other hand, the state of Cheng (Central Honan), where the Sin-Cheng find produced a rich crop of vessels, some of which are of definitely Middle Chou style, but others of equally definitely Huai style.¹⁾

Thus we find that there is an even more extensive area for the Huai style than for the Middle Chou style: it is not limited to the Yangtsi valley and the Huai valley, nor to these and Shantung (Ts'i). It is attested by good Chou-time inscribed vessels from the most varying parts of the whole of China North of the Yangtsi.

The question, then, is this: when and how did the Huai style conquer China and oust the Middle Chou style?

We have seen above that the Middle Chou style ousted the Yin-Chou style somewhat abruptly around 950 B. C.; it utterly rejected a whole series of the most important elements of that art and introduced an array of entirely new elements. The change was sudden and complete; the »mixed» vessels, presenting both Yin criteria (1—38) and Middle Chou criteria (43—59)²⁾ are indeed so rare as to be practically negligible. There was apparently no »transitional stage» between Yin-Chou and Middle Chou, no gradual evolution with a slow infiltrating of new elements and a slow dying off of the old elements. There was a radical change, a new departure in the middle of the 10th century. During the second half of Western Chou (the period 946—771) the Middle Chou style reigned supreme; there is hardly the slightest symptom to be observed of any nascent Huai-style art during that period.

On the other hand, the Huai style is attested by a series of reliable examples in the 6th century and the first decades of the 5th B. C. At that time we find it not only in Ch'u but in various places all over China: Ch'u in Hupei C (vessel C 35 of the 6th century); Wu in Kiangsu S (vessel C 183 made by a prince dead in 473 B. C.); Sü in Anhuei N (vessels C 128, 129, not later than 512 B. C.); Chu¹ in Shantung S (vessel C 25 made by a prince who died in 556 B. C.); Ts'i in Chantung NC (vessel C 145 made by a prince who died in 554 B. C.); Sung in Honan E (vessel C 124 made by a prince who died in 532 B. C.); Ch'en in Honan EC (vessel C 2, not later than 478 B. C.); Ts'in in Shensi (vessels C 175, 176 not later than 577 B. C.); and finally — most striking of all — in the very precincts of Royal Chou (or, if the first informations giving Kung-hien as the place of discovery are right, quite close to the Royal domain) (Piao bells, C 41, dated 550 B. C.). There

¹⁾ It is safest not to attempt to fix any definite date for the Sin-Cheng vessels; Wang Kuo-wei may be right as to the date *circa* 575 B. C. of C 36, but it does not follow that this can be used as a decisive *point d'appui* for the rest of the vessels. It may have been a cache where vessels of different epochs were hidden.

²⁾ Crit. 39, 41, 42, Yin-Chou innovations which lived on through Middle Chou, are not considered here.

is therefore no risk in stating that in the middle of the 6th century the Huai art had victoriously penetrated to all parts of the China of those days.

Was the change from Middle Chou to Huai as sudden and complete as that from Yin-Chou to Middle Chou in the 10th century? In all probability it was not.

In principle there should be two means of studying this question: the inscriptions and the stylistic transitional stages. The first leaves us stranded. We have a great number of vessels in Middle Chou style for which we can decide a *terminus ante quem* (see category C above); yet we have no clear Middle Chou vessels which are definitely datable in or after the 6th century. This might seem to fit in splendidly: why not conclude that the Huai style had gained a complete victory during that century, and that all pure Middle Chou vessels have to be placed anterior to 600? That is tempting, but it would be to conclude more than the premisses allow; for conclusions *e silentio* are always risky, and especially so when, as here, the datable inscriptions are extremely few.

Let us therefore try the other road and examine the evolution of style itself. We at once find that the change from Middle Chou to Huai was of a different character from the sudden change from Yin-Chou to Middle Chou in the 10th century.

On the one hand, we have a considerable number of vessels which are in the main Middle Chou and yet show some indications of Huai ideas, small details of the Huai style breaking through their Middle Chou decorative scheme. Such are: C 16, C 17, C 39 (Pl. XLV), C 64, C 88, C 141, C 166 (Pl. XLII), C 169, C 179, D 36, D 41, E 33, E 47, E 56 (Pl. L), E 59. For the Huai elements of these Middle Chou vessels see pp. 123—129 above.

On the other hand there are not a few vessels which are principally Huai but still show considerable traces of Middle Chou: as we have seen on p. 149 above, the real mature Huai art had ruthlessly rejected the principal features of the Middle Chou décor (but not its types of vessel) and had created its own decorative scheme, partly by aid of revived Yin elements, partly by innovations of its own; yet we have here examples of Huai vessels in which the Middle Chou décor none the less peeps through. Such are: C 31, C 46, C 47, C 120 (Pl. LVII), C 126 (Pl. LVI), C 152 (Pl. LIV), C 171, C 176, D 18. For the Middle Chou elements of these Huai vessels see pp. 132—134 above. Among uninscribed hybrid vessels we might mention the Hu flask Wuying 118, which is in the main a typical and fine Huai vessel, but which none the less has a modest row of Middle Chou scales on the handle. Tch'ou XXV has a bell on which the Middle Chou figured band (58) has been adopted but remodeled into a snake pattern. Umehara III: 174 has a Huai bowl with a narrow 57 wavy line.

Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether we should define a vessel as Middle Chou with incipient Huai elements or Huai with lingering Middle Chou elements. There is for instance the beautiful little Kuei-shaped vessel belonging to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities and reproduced in Kümmel, Chinesische Kunst (Pl. 42). It has the shape and grooves (53) of a Middle Chou vessel, but the rings

standing on the lid (65) denoting a Huai vessel; its patina places it in the Huai group, and here is an example of Middle Chou influence — generally Huai does not work with the groove element.

We have spoken of »Middle Chou with incipient Huai elements» and »Huai with lingering Middle Chou elements», and thereby indicated that we conceive of the evolution as being a gradual organic transition from Middle Chou to Huai, in contradistinction to the more sudden change from Yin-Chou into Middle Chou. Yet we might ask: is it not possible to imagine things differently? Since Huai has such a remarkable series of décor elements in common with the Yin style and generally spurns those of Middle Chou, could we not suppose that Huai and Middle Chou were parallel stages, two diverging evolutions from the Yin art? If Middle Chou had its region of birth and great efflorescence in Royal Chou (from circa 950 B. C.), Huai might simultaneously have been created in the Yangtsi and Huai valleys, taking its inheritance directly from Yin.¹⁾

And then the two styles might have come into contact with one another and, to some extent, influenced each other, thus creating the vessels just discussed as a kind of hybrid products of two independent and parallel arts — until the time when Huai was victorious and ousted the Middle Chou style entirely throughout China.

If we reject this mode of interpretation — which would undoubtedly possess some historical advantages¹⁾) — we do so for several reasons.

On the one hand, there are some interesting cases in which we can seize the evolution from Middle Chou into Huai as it were in the process. There are the two vessels belonging to Mrs. Sedgwick, one P'an (Pl. XLIV: C 40) and one Ih (Pl. XLV: C 39) with the same inscription and obviously made by the same artist. The inscription locates the vessels in the state of Ch'u (Hupei C, later Honan and Anhuei). The P'an is in pure Middle Chou style; the Ih is mainly Middle Chou, but the »figured band» (58) of Middle Chou begins to have its figures »Huai-icized»: small birds' heads at the end of the flourishes. Here we can grasp the Huai art in its nascent, on the soil of one of its principal strong-holds, the Ch'u state, and witness how in that very region a real Middle Chou art very insidiously (in the products of one artist!) creeps over into Huai.²⁾

Again there is an interesting example from the state of Ts'i. In Ts'i (Shan-

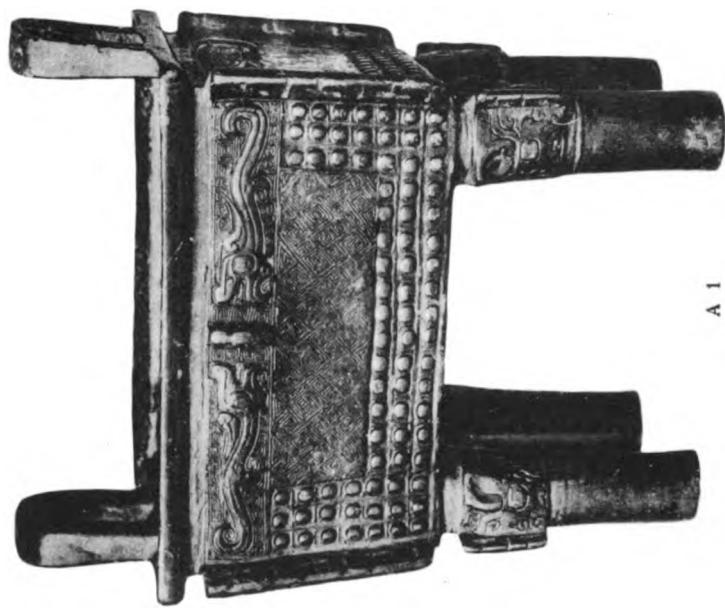
¹⁾ The traditions of Yin were kept up during many centuries of Chou rule in the state of Sung (Honan E), where the princes continued to make sacrifices to the *manes* of the Yin kings. From Sung our material includes no Middle Chou vessels, only Huai vessels.

²⁾ It is very difficult, on the other hand, to account for the series C 34 of bells all of which bear one and the same inscription, indicating equally the Ch'u state, and which are almost too divergent from one another in style. Some of them, those in the Sumitomo collection (Senoku Betsu 5—7, our Pl. XLVIII) and in the Tuan Fang collection (T'ao 1: 17, our Pl. LI) exhibit nothing that is not good Middle Chou; one of them (Tch'ou XXII, our Pl. LV) is in pure Huai style. It is difficult to imagine that one and the same artist made a series of bells with identical inscriptions and yet in so totally different styles.

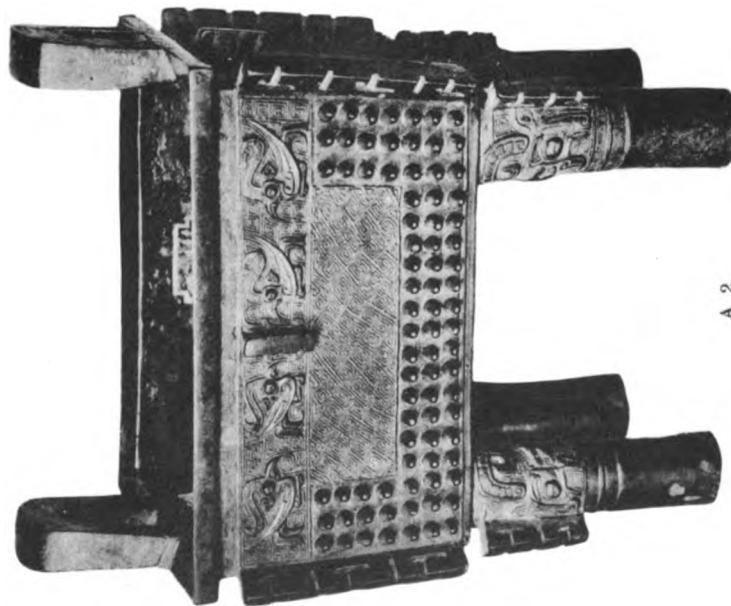
tung NC), as we have seen, the Huai style existed already in the 6th century, and Ts'i was one of the most flourishing centres of Huai art. And yet in the vessel C 166 (our Pl. XLII), which is dated as late as 371 B. C., we have a specimen that is a mixture of Middle Chou and Huai: the vessel itself is good Middle Chou, but the handles are very baroque Huai handles; and this vessel has sister vessels with the same inscription (C 167, C 167 a) of which one has the standing rings that are typical of Huai. Obviously C 166 is a belated example of Middle Chou style in a state where Middle Chou was first quite flourishing (C 154, C 155, C 160, C 163, C 164) but from the 6th century and onwards was gradually superseded by Huai art. One and the same artist seems to have made the »mixed» vessel C 166 and the Huai vessel C 167 a.

But the weightiest argument against a theory that Huai was an independent derivative from Yin and was collateral with Middle Chou before it finally ousted it is the very nature of the Huai style itself. It is true that its decorative features are Yin elements (not Middle Chou elements) with a rich addition of entirely new features of its own; but it should not be forgotten that this concerns the décor only; in regard to the types of vessel it is just the opposite: here we find that the Huai style has spurned the classical Yin types — the square Ting, the Li-ting, the Yu, the Ku, the Tsun, the Yi, the Tsüe, the Kuang, the ordinary Ting with cylindrical legs — and entirely followed the lead of the Middle Chou style: Chung, Fu, Ih, Sü, Ting with curved legs. This clearly shows that Huai was not collateral with Middle Chou but was its derivative; it was posterior not only to Yin (and Yin-Chou) but also to Middle Chou, and it is a typical eclectic art: it has revived a series of Yin decorative motifs, yet without accepting its types of vessel; it took over the principal types of vessel of Middle Chou yet without accepting its principal decorative elements; and it added an important series of new features of its own.

Our conclusion therefore must be that the Middle Chou style, which reigned supreme during the second half of Western Chou (946—771 B. C.), in Eastern Chou time (770—256) very soon began to undergo certain modifications, due to influences of the origin of which we can know nothing. After a period of transition, a new art, the Huai style, had developed by an eclectic and to a certain extent archaizing process, and the Middle Chou, lingering on in an ever more and more languishing state for centuries after its era of supremacy, and still occasionally reviving side by side with the new art, at least in certain localities (e.g. Ts'i), was finally and definitely ousted by the Huai style at an epoch which the inscriptions do not allow us to fix exactly, but which must have been around 400—350 B. C.



A 1



A 2



A 6



A 24



A 246



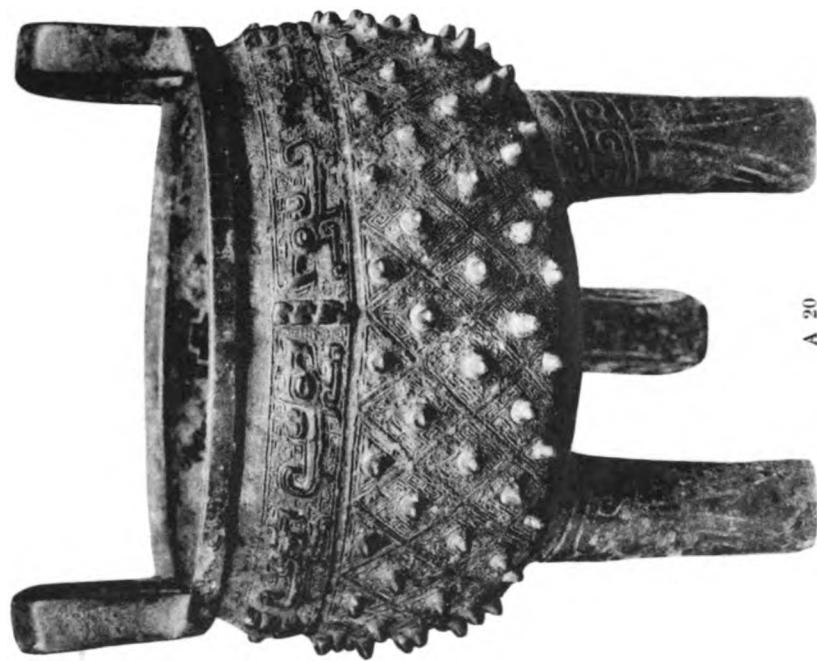
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B 49



A 247



A 20



A 196



A 38



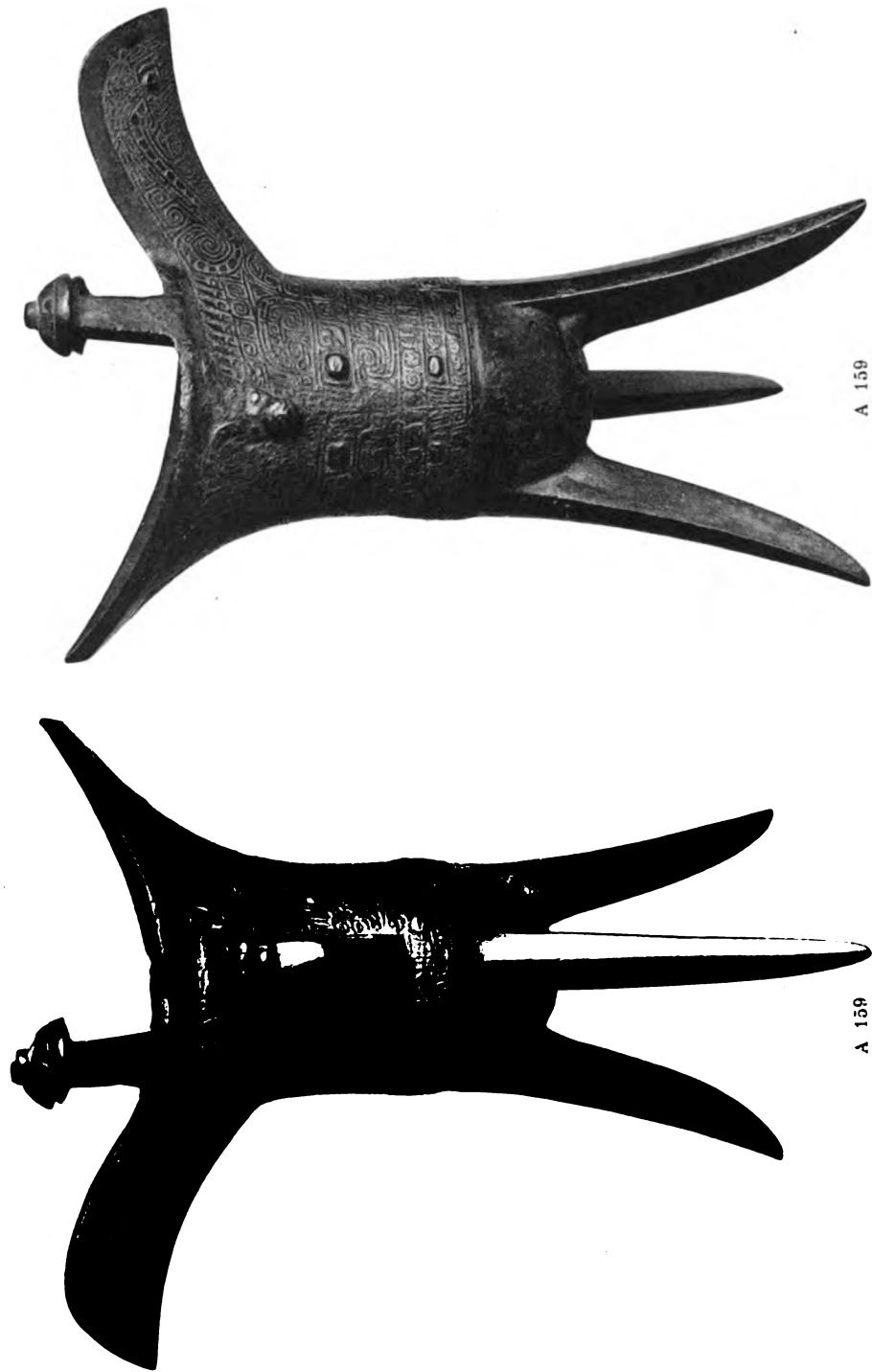
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A 193



A 260

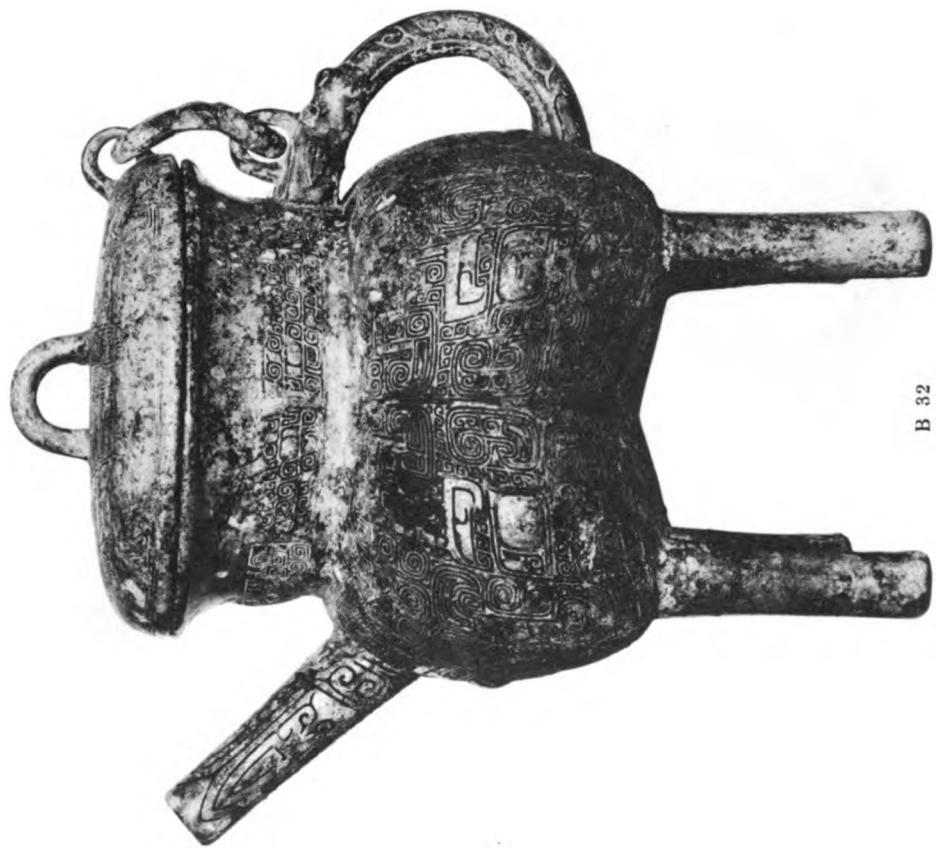


A 159

A 159a



A 170



B 32



B 42



A 302



E 40



A 304



A 145



A 294





A 293



B 167



B 41



B 22



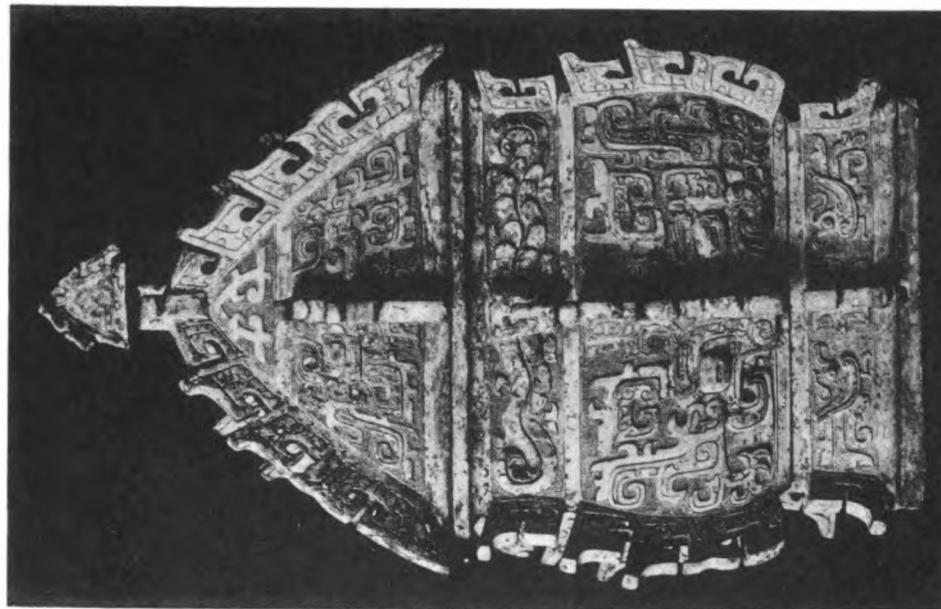
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A 107



A 54



B 24







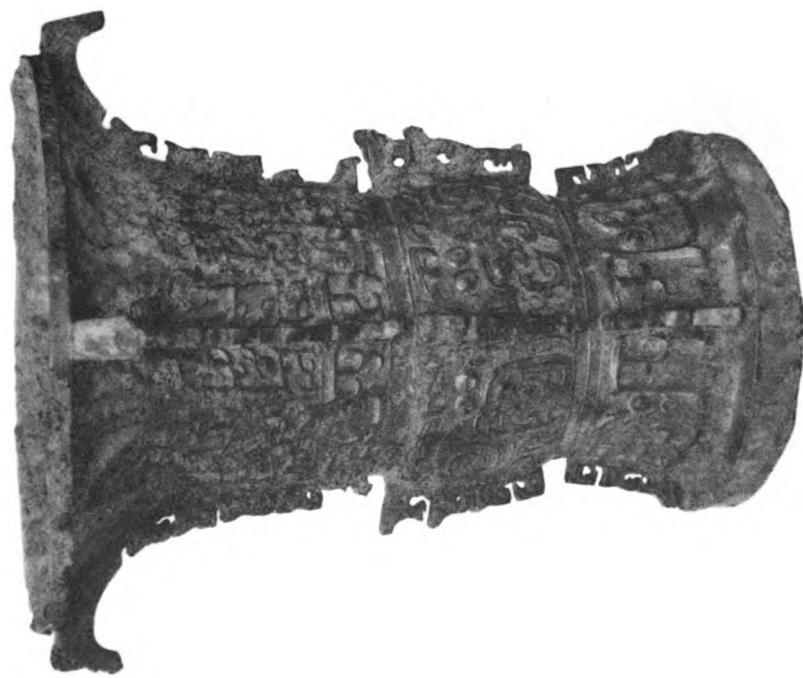
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A 67



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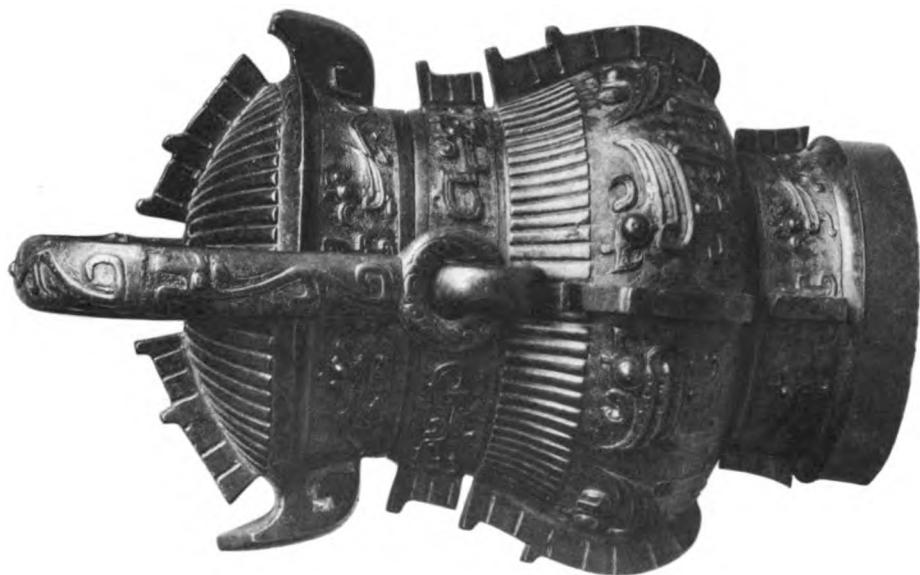
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B 153



B 155





A 64



A 86



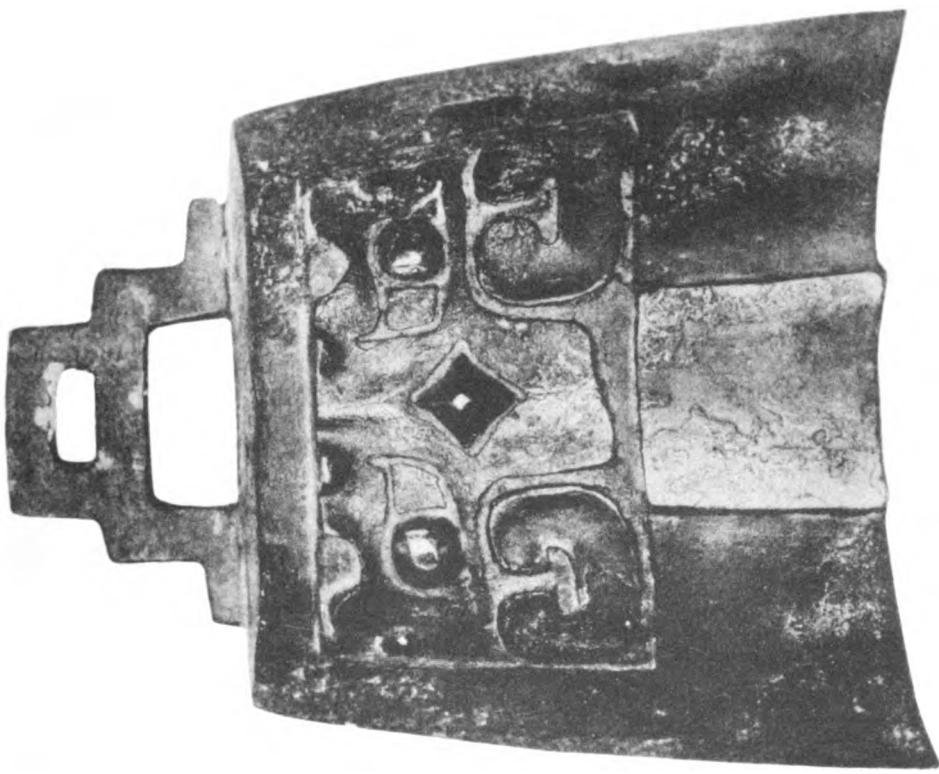
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A 181



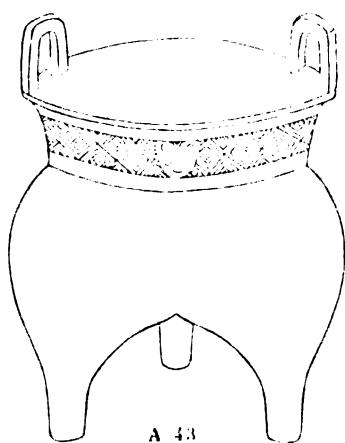
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A 178



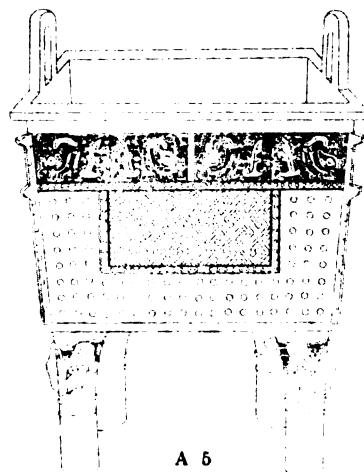
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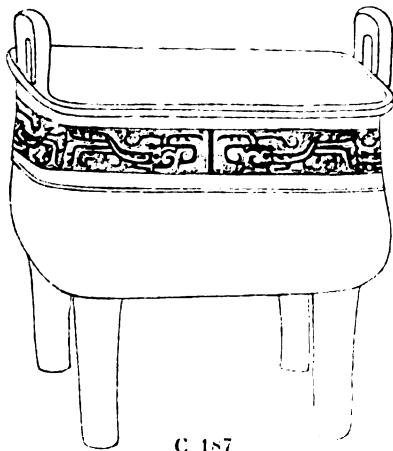
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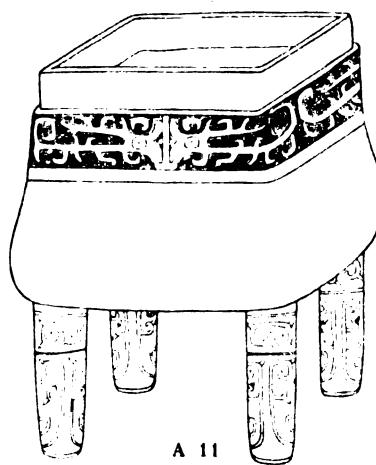
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A 5



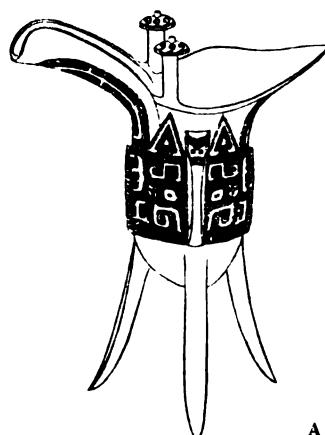
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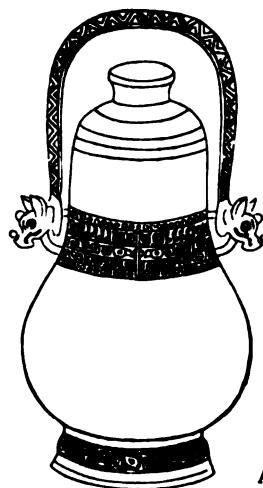
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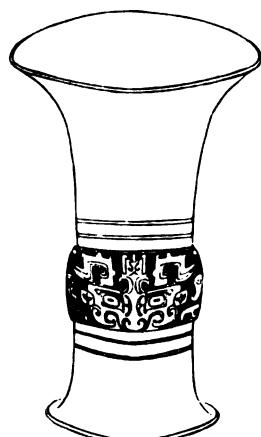
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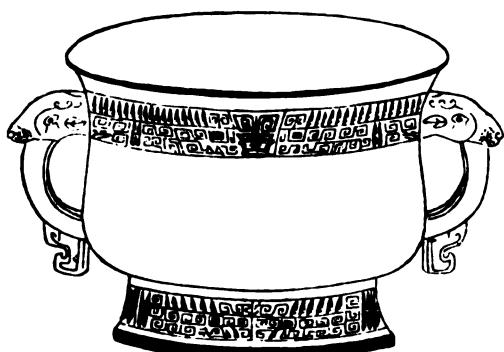
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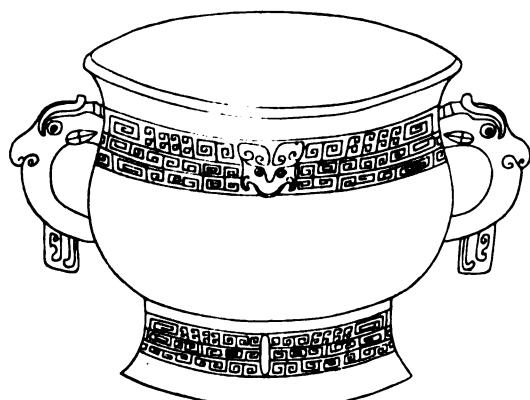
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E 18



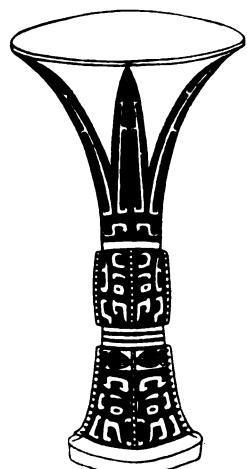
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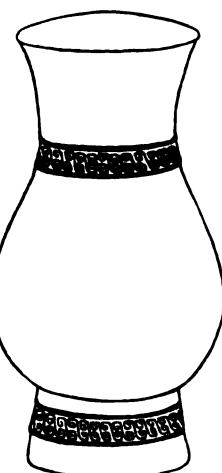
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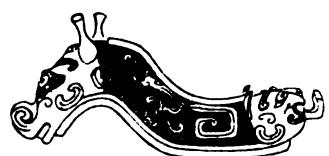
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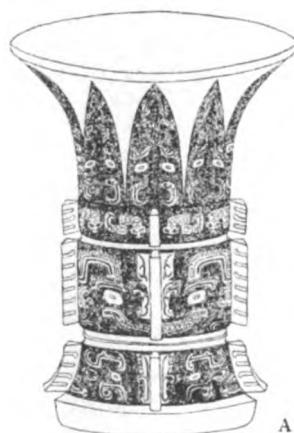
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A 48



B 25



A 208



B 143



C 121



B 142



C 64



C 140



E 42



B 116



E 32





D 25



C 8



B 90



C 80





B 132



D 4



B 133

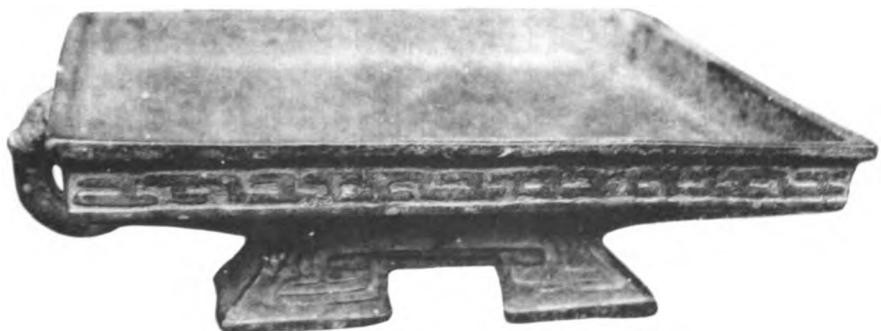


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C 166



C 1





D 5



D 9



D 12



C 40



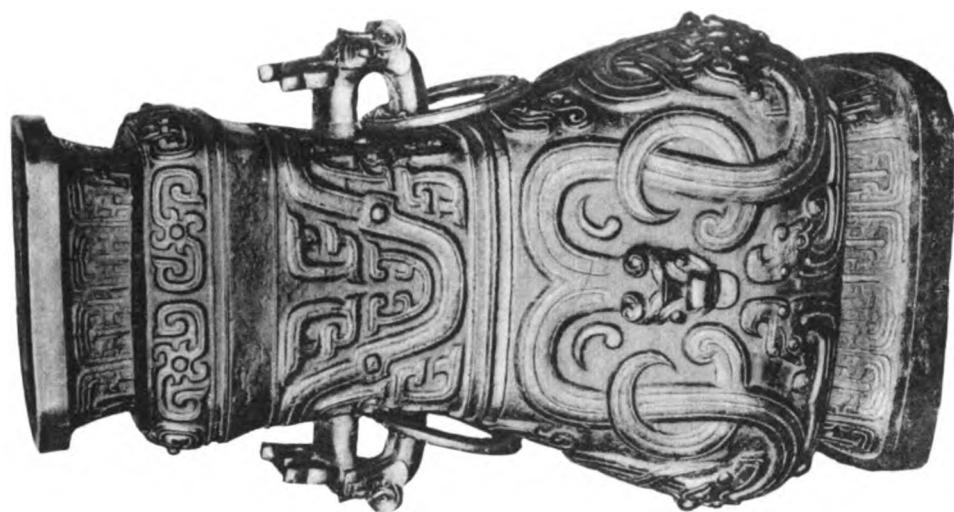
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C 39



C 83



B 118



B 94



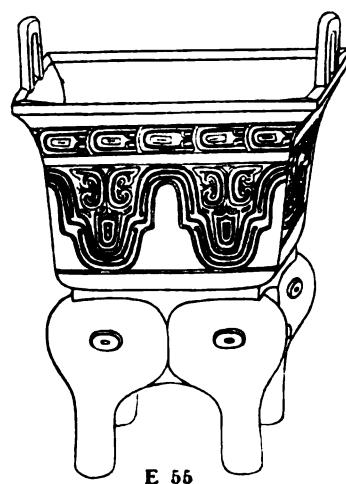
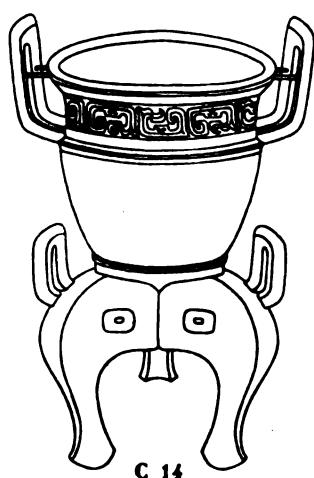
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C. 66

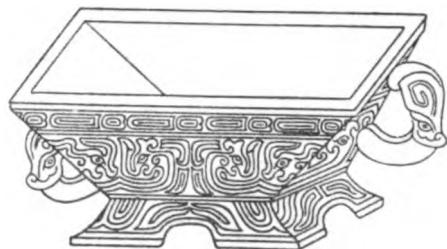


C. 34





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C 95



C 133



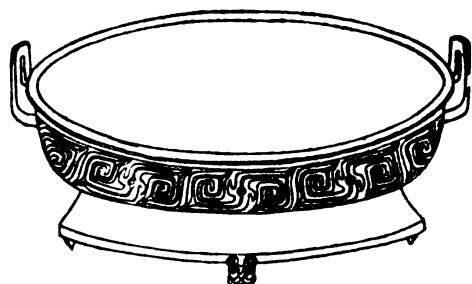
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E 56



D 38



C 194



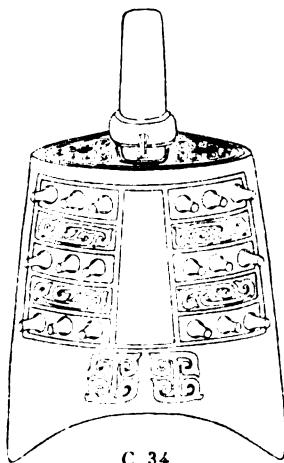
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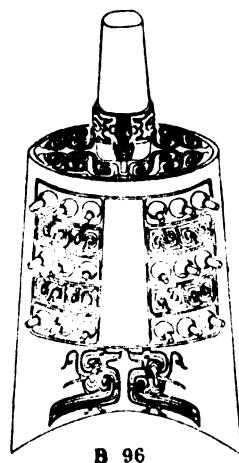
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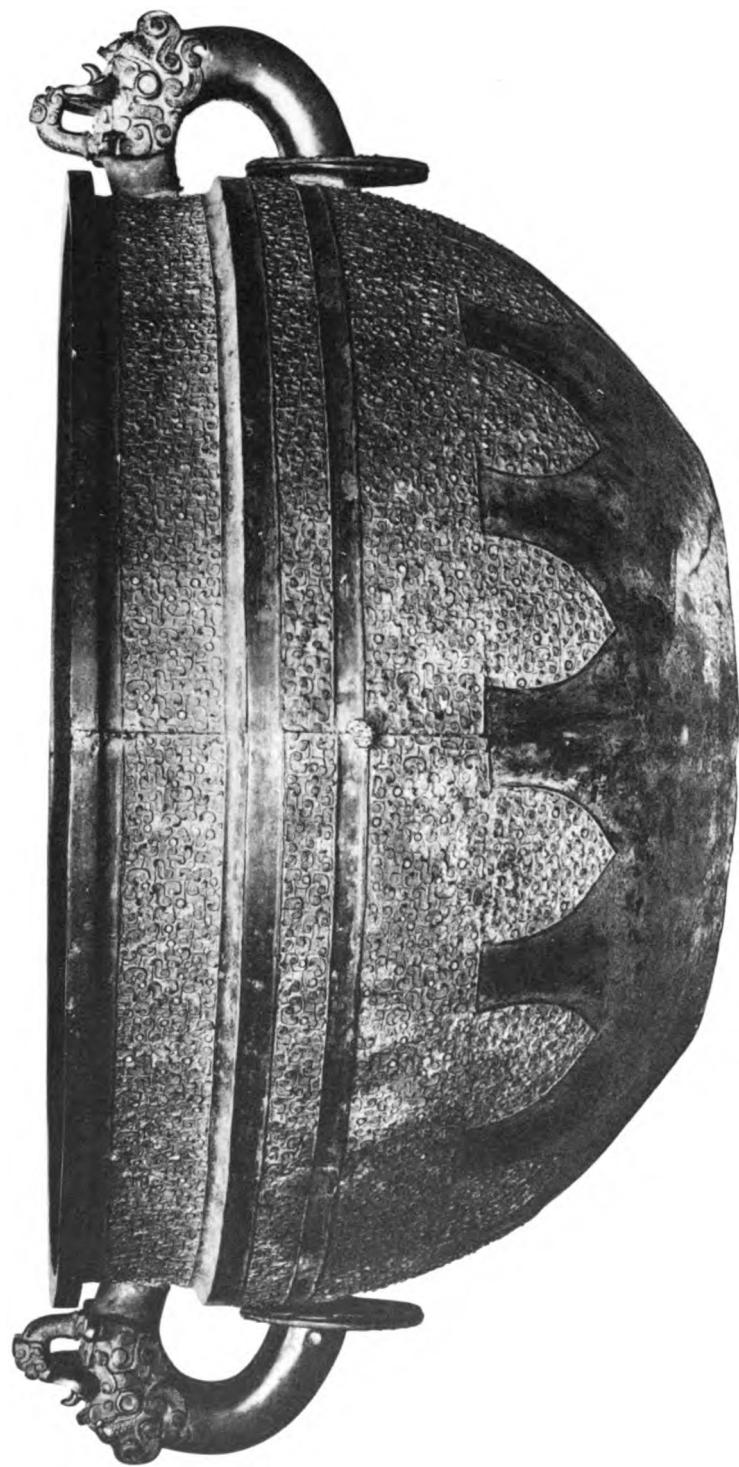
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C 34



B 96



C 183

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D 30



D 30



C 152

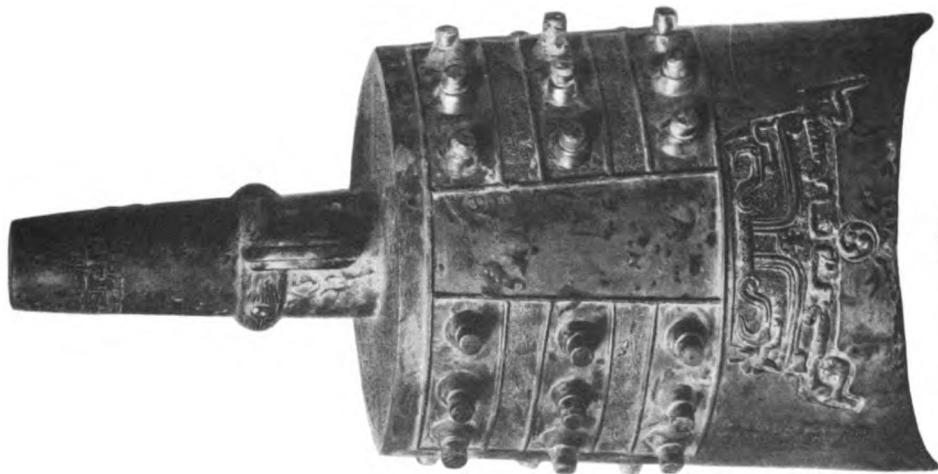


C 147





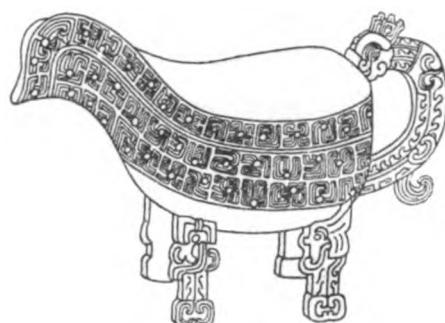
C 34



C 98



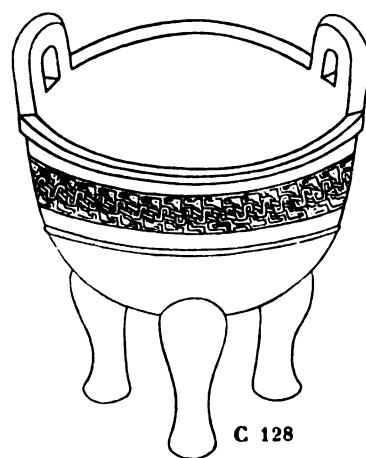
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C 186



C 126



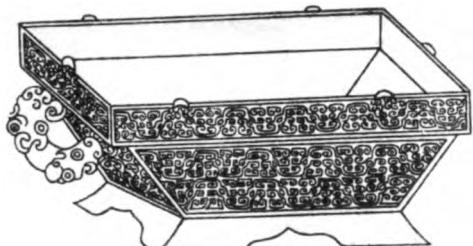
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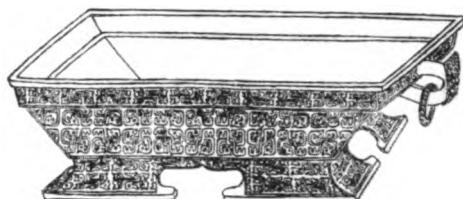
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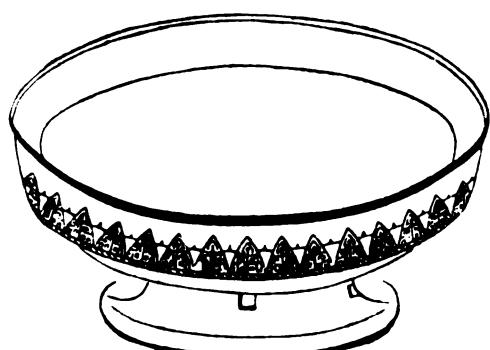
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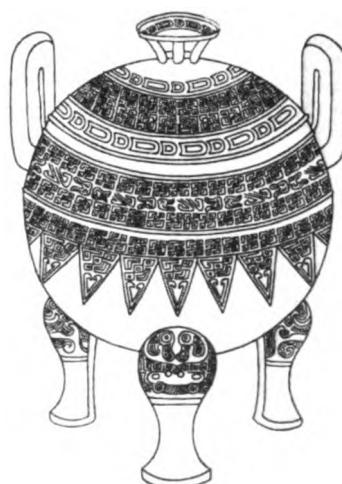
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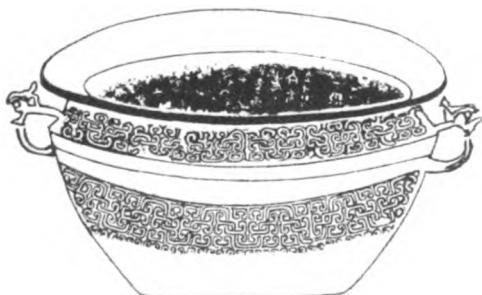
C 29



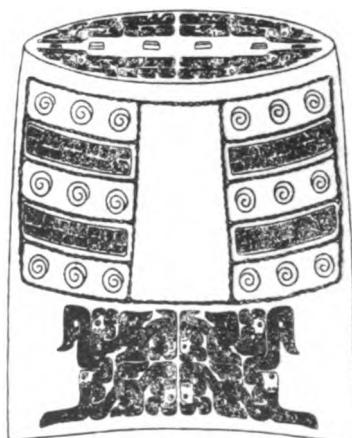
C 36



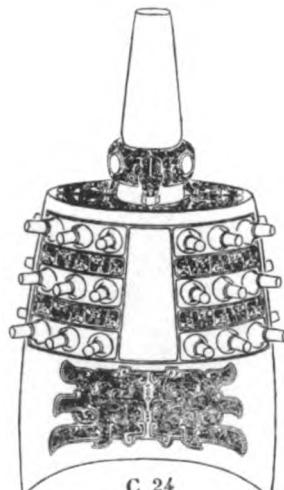
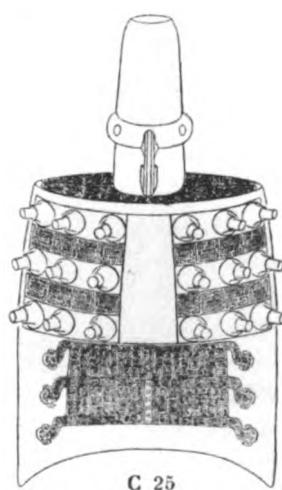
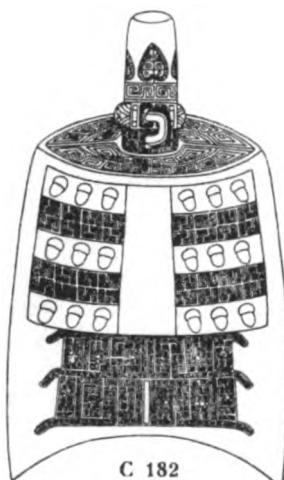
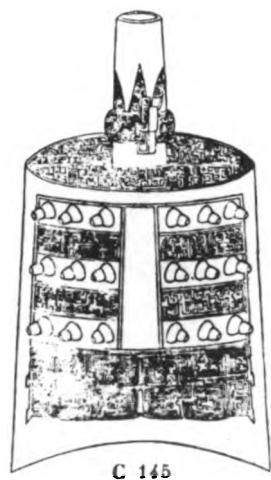
C 120



C 171



C 129



ADDITIONAL NOTE.

After the printing of this paper, the Exhibition of Chinese Art in London has offered me an opportunity of seeing some of the Imperial collection vessels which I had earlier seen only in photograph or drawing, and a few of them call for some remarks.

The Hu flask E 32 (our Pl. XXXV), the inscription of which is reproduced by Lo Chen-yü in his Corpus of inscriptions (Chengsung, Pu shang 37), has a surface, colour and patina which make it very difficult to accept it as genuine.

The vessel C 140 (our Pl. XXXV, included in Jung Keng's list of authentic vessels and in Lo Chen-yü's Chengsung (7: 33) also makes an impression of being a later product in archaizing style: the patina is not what we are used to in archaic vessels, the relief is coarse, sharp and high-ridged and very unlike the ordinary Middle Chou relief. It has a »sister vessel», a Hu flask (not in my article above), in the same section at the Exhibition, and included in Jung Keng's album of choice pieces from the Imperial collections (Wuying p. 105), which shares in all these peculiarities, and which moreover has a peculiar décor motif: an arched line with stylized »gaping dragon» heads, pointing downwards, at the ends, which make the impression of being a misunderstood and misrepresented early design. When seeing these two vessels I could not help having serious misgivings; after prolonged study I feel very uncertain. On the one hand, the »double dragon» motif recurs in C 193 (our Pl. LI) on a similar Hu, which is illustrated in the I shu ts'ung pien, a modern publication which gives only very choice vessels. On the other hand, it seems possible that the coarse, high-ridged relief, common to both vessels, is peculiar to a particular family (provincial?) of bronzes.

Again there is the big Hu C 23 (Jung Keng's list of authentic bronzes, Lo Chen-yü's Chengsung, Pu shang 38, Wang Kuo-wei's Kin wen chu lu piao, Wu Ta-ch'eng's K'ia 14: 16) which is somewhat disconcerting. The Imperial vessel in the Exhibition is without lid; a lid with the same inscription is in the National Museum of Stockholm. The patina of the Stockholm lid is quite different from that of the Imperial vessel. This is due to the fact that there were at least two Hu with the same inscription (see Wang Kuo-wei's Kin wen chu lu piao). The Imperial vessel has a décor element which, when examined by the eye directly, not only in photograph or drawing, looks very suspicious: a hybrid between cicada and fish, seemingly an early motif misunderstood and maltreated by a late imitator. The bronze is quite ugly in colour.

About B 57 I wrote (p. 112 above): »The drawing is very unfavourable, but the

vessel probably authentic». Having seen the vessel I am somewhat in doubt as to the genuineness of its handles.

C 57, a big Hu flask (Jung Keng's list of authentic vessels, Wu Ta-ch'eng's K'ia 14: 15), has the same high-ridged and sharp-edged relief as C 140 above, and the whole vessel has an ugly, dirty-brownish colour which is not very convincing. The design also is uncommon, with its head with exaggerated tusks.

I take the opportunity of adding a note about the Lei A 86 belonging to Professor Seligman. I have quoted it after Umehara, who has it in his standard work on selected archaic Chinese bronzes in Western collections. (*Shina kodō seikwa*). Professor Seligman has told me that he considers the bronze to be a later imitation, and has kindly lent me the bronze for examination. I share his opinion, and therefore the vessel should be eliminated from my material. For our stylistic conclusions this is no way fatal, for the existence in archaic times of this vessel type with this décor is attested by several other specimens: one in the Sumitomo collection (A 309 above), one in Liu T'i-chi's collection, Shanghai (*Shan chai ki kin lu*, heft 3), and one in Ts'ao Kuei's famous collection (see *Huai mi shan fang ki kin t'u*). Still more important: a vessel with this shape and décor was found, together with other Yin vessels, in the very region of An-yang (see Bishop White in *Illustrated London News*, March 1935). And the clay prototype of this Lei was excavated, by the Academia Sinica, also in An-yang (*An-yang fa kue pao kao* p. 480).

In all likelihood, a certain number of vessels in our lists A-E above shall have, after all, to be eliminated from the final and decisive material, once an opportunity has been offered to subject them all to an ocular examination. I want to emphasize that I have anticipated this on pp. 88—89 above. But I have added there (p. 89) that this negative fact does not invalidate our general conclusions, since they are built on series of vessels.

ON THE SCRIPT OF THE CHOU DYNASTY

BY

BERNHARD KARL GRENN

For the history of the Chinese script anterior to its normalization into what is called the 楷書 *k'ie shu*, the standard characters in ordinary use since the latest part of the Han dynasty, there are three principal sources:

The oracle bone inscriptions of Yin time;

The bronze and stone inscriptions of Yin and Chou time;

The bronze and stone inscriptions of Ts'in and early Han times, combined with the repertory of Ts'in script called Shuo wen kie tsī, written by Hü Shen in the last part of the 1st century of our era.

If we compare the graphs of these three sources, we immediately observe a strong gradual evolution of a purely technical kind, an evolution that has nothing to do with the structural principles of the characters but only with their technical execution. A few examples will suffice to show this (in each line the first form is from oracle bones, the second from Chou bronzes, the third is the *Siao chuan* 'small seal' and the fourth is the *K'ie shu* 'standard character'):



It is obvious that in principle the modern 馬 'horse' is the same character as the ideogram for 'horse' ever since Yin time, though there is an infinite number of small variations in the drawing of the character. Similarly the modern compound ideogram 好 'to love' is identical with the earlier graphs, except for this purely technical evolution. And finally the modern 福 'happiness', a phonogram, consisting of one »sound element« (»phonetic«) 福, and one expletive ideographic addition (called »radical« or »signific« or »determinative«) 示, is in principle, in regard to its structure, its composition, identical with the earlier forms in our third line, in spite of the different execution of the graph by successive generations of draughtsmen. This *technical* evolution is not the object of the present investigation, and when I say that 馬, 好 and 福 are characters which existed as such already in Yin and Chou time, I mean that they existed as such, *mutatis mutandis*, i. e. existed in principle and structure, though not in technical execution. In the same way our modern *a*, *g* are the same as *a*, *g* and as *a*, *g*

etc. The discussion will bear solely on the question of the composition of the characters.

Right down from the Ts'in and Han dynasties we know the structure of a great number of characters. The Shuo wen registers the characters such as they were officially fixed in 221 B. C., the so-called *siao chuan* 'small seal' characters, determined by Li Si and his contemporary lexicographers, and the inscriptions which we possess from Ts'in and early Han time confirm the correctness of the Shuo wen's small seal forms. The Shuo wen gives 9353 characters (variants uncounted), but this by no means exhausts the characters in use in Western Han time: if we add those of Er ya, Fang yen and characters occurring in various Chou, Ts'in and early Han texts not incorporated in the Shuo wen, we obtain several thousand more. Thus, from 221 B. C. (small seal) down to our times we know perfectly well the structure of the characters of the entire vocabulary.

If we had similarly exhaustive sources for the earlier periods, we could at once draw up a definite history of the structural evolution of the Chinese script. Unfortunately we are very badly off in regard to the periods anterior to 221 B. C. The oracle bones and the bronzes give us but scanty materials, all the more so as they are extremely one-sided.

In the former it is a question of a limited number of oracle formulae, and the identifiable characters are comparatively very few. In the latter the literary patterns are to a large extent the same, the same phrase recurring in a most tedious way; and although the pictorial variation of one and the same character is often great (the technical side, disregarded in the present paper), the harvest of Chou-time words denoted is on the whole quite meagre. The Kin wen pien, in which Jung Keng has brought together all the best ascertainable Chou characters from bronzes, contains only 1416 different words, and moreover quite a number of those are names of places or persons or otherwise special words to which we know of no corresponding characters in the later script. This leaves us with very scanty material relating to the early periods, as far as their really current words are concerned. What, then, was the Chinese script really like when the Chou empire was at its zenith, say 900—600 B. C.?

That there was already an extensive use of written documents at that time we are fully aware from literary and historical sources.¹⁾

That the documents from the Shu king (i. e. the authentic ones) and the more than 300 odes of the Shi king were not only handed down orally but really written down already in the said period we may conclude from important parallels. We have a considerable number of quite extensive bronze inscriptions from Western Chou time, especially from the period 947—771 B. C., and many

¹⁾ When the great statesman Ts'i-ch'an in Cheng had the penal code cast in bronze in 536 B. C. (*Tso chuan*, Chao 6th year), there arose a discussion as to whether it was advisable to allow the public thus to have open access to the code — which shows how current the art of writing and reading was in the 6th century B. C.

of them are, as far as they go, perfect sister documents to the Shu king chapters and the Shī king odes. An inscription such as that on the Mao kung tripod might equally well have been inserted in the Shu; an inscription such as that of the famous Kuo-ki Tsī-po p'an is rimed in a perfect Shī fashion. When such texts as these were inscribed on bronze in Western Chou time, very neatly and nicely, in regular rows of characters of a uniform size, indeed in a quite advanced and mature script, there is no reason whatsoever for supposing that the Shu documents or the Shī odes were not also committed to writing in one material or other (on bronzes, bamboo slips, wooden blocks). The practice of writing must already have existed very extensively in early Chou time.

But then we are forced to admit that there must have existed in early Chou time thousands and thousands of characters of which we now have no palpable examples in the form of contemporaneous inscriptions. Obviously the scribes cannot possibly have managed only with those characters which we know from the oracle bones and the ritual bronzes. These give only a small corner of the field of the vocabulary — extremely limited just because they refer only to certain particular religious functions and leave blank the whole field of secular life and thought. The Shī king, for instance, contains (in the Mao version) about 2850 different characters. It was composed in the centuries 800—600 B. C.¹⁾ As stated just now, it was most decidedly committed to writing already before 600 B. C. But the great majority of its words do not occur in the bronze inscriptions. And if we survey the field of the extensive documents of later Chou time, such as the Rituals, the Lun yü, Mencius, Chuang-tsī etc., there are an infinite number of very common words which *must* have had their characters in the very earliest stages of a written literature, and which none the less are not known to us through bone and bronze inscriptions. Let us choose only a few examples of such Chou-time text words and give them in the characters by which they are written from Ts'in and Han time, when they were copied out in »small seal« and later on in *li shu* (»clerk hand«) and *k'ie shu*:

禮祥禱社禁瑞珍珠毒菊葦藍苦荷英蘋苗荒落芟藉薪芥苟草春
葬悉叛特韋物含味吟杏哀哭趨赴超趨逝過迎遲返逐近追遮徑
循律衡衢蹠踵只丈詩誦讀論論說詞詰謙設記譽訖詣講誣誕謬
證誰誅討音叢弄度支隸

We are thus in a tantalizing position. On the one hand, we know very well the Ts'in and Han time characters for more than ten thousand words, a stock

¹⁾ It has generally been considered that a few of the odes of the Sung section are to be dated as early as in the very first reigns of the dynasty. I doubt it. They are probably laudatory compositions praising the early heroes of the dynasty made at a time when literary activities had already reached a fair stage of development. On the other hand, only two or three odes may be as late as 570 B. C. The great majority of the 305 odes known to us were certainly composed between 800 and 600 B. C.

amply sufficient for the writing down of any texts on any subject. On the other hand, we know that many thousands of these words must have had their written characters already in 800—600 B. C. (the time of the Shi king), but we have no evidence of how they were written, the bronze inscriptions coming to our aid in but a small percentage of the cases. The question then arises: were the thousands of characters that are now missing, and which in Chou time served to write the texts which we know only by successive transcriptions, the same as those known to us from Ts'in and Han time (but for the technical modification)? Or are they entirely lost, and were they supplanted in Ts'in and Han time by newly-created characters, different in structure from the earlier ones?

This is really a fundamental problem, not only for the palaeography but for the entire text philology of the Chou-time literature. For it is obvious that if they were really supplanted, around 221 B. C., in the manner just stated, by new characters built on different principles, then the transition from Chou to Ts'in and Han means a far more radical rupture in the literary tradition than it would mean if the now missing characters turn out to have been in the great majority of cases the same as those in Ts'in and Han time (with the said technical modification only). The transcription of the Chou texts into Han writing would mean a kind of graphic translation in the former case, a fairly unimportant calligraphic modification in the latter.¹⁾

The answer to this fundamental question cannot be given before we have discussed the different kinds of characters in the ancient script. The Chinese philologists generally speak of *liu shu* 'six kinds of characters':

a) 像形 *Siang hing* »pictograms», e. g. 馬 'horse', originally a drawing of a horse.

b) 指事 *Chi shi* »indicators», e. g. 上 'up' and 下 'down'.

c) 會意 *Huei i* »combined ideas», e. g. 好 'to love' (from 'woman' and 'child').

d) 諧聲 *Hie sheng* »agreeing sounds», e. g. 江 'river', read Chou *kung* (now *kiang*), consisting of one »radical», here 'water', and one »phonetic», here 工 Chou *kung*.

e) 轉注 *Chuan chu* »extended meaning», e. g. the drawing 交 'cross-legged man' applied to the word *kiao* 'to cross, interchange, contact' etc.

f) 假借 *Kia tsie* »loan», e. g. 鳥. This was, according to the Shuo wen, originally the character for 鵲 Chou *ts'jak* 'magpie', and as such a drawing, but already in Chou time applied, because of sound similarity, as a loan character, to Chou *siak* 'slipper'.

There are, however, various facts in regard to the logical categories of the

¹⁾ We know from various accounts of Western Han time how prominent scholars handled texts in *ku wen* »ancient script» and turned them into *kin wen* »the present script» i. e. the script of the Han. But this tells us nothing; it just expresses the problem posed above: was the transition from *ku wen* to *kin wen* a graphic translation or a technical modification only?

script to which this traditional division does no justice. Let us examine an example.

A simple pictogram 求, read Chou *g'jōg* (now *k'iü*), meant originally 'fur, fur coat', and depicted, in its Chou-time drawing, the hair of a fur. In this primary sense we know it from bronze inscriptions. Then the character was used as *kia tsie*, i. e. as phonetic loan for a homophonous word *g'jōg* 'to pray'; this »loan character» we know already from bronze inscriptions, and all down through the ages 求 'fur' has been used in this way as a phonetic graph for the 求 'to pray' (both now pronounced *k'iü* in Mandarin).

So far the character has not been altered (except in its technical execution). But then it was used as a *kia tsie* loan character for one more Chou *g'jōg* 'associate' (so in the K'ang kao of the Shu king, Couvreur p. 242), and a time came when this seemed too unpractical: the scribes found it necessary to differentiate 求 *g'jōg* 'fur', 求 *g'jōg* 'to pray' and 求 *g'jōg* 'associate', and the way this was done was that the original simple character 求 was reserved for the most common word 'to pray', and the other two were differentiated by the addition of »radicals«: *g'jōg* 'fur' was written 衤, with an extra radical 衤 'dress, clothes'; and *g'jōg* 'associate' 跪 with an extra radical 'to walk' ('to walk together' = associate'). In this way they had obtained three characters: 求, 衤, 跪.

According to the traditional classification of the Chinese philologist we should have to say: 求 Chou *g'jōg* 'to pray' is a *kia tsie* character (cat. f); 衤 and 跪 are both *hie sheng* characters (cat. d), consisting of one »radical« (衣 and 越 respectively) and one »phonetic« (求 in both).

According to the real evolution we have to establish a totally different system. All Chinese characters are made up of one or several *ideograms*:

- 1) An ideogram may be simple: either concrete, e. g. 馬 'horse' (cat. *siang hing*); or abstract, e. g. 上 'up' (cat. *chi shi*).
- 2) An ideogram may be compound fundamentally, from the moment of its creation: 好 'to love' from 'woman' + 'child' (cat. *huei i*).
- 3) An ideogram may be compound in a secondary way: to an originally simple ideogram 求 'fur' has been added, *après coup*, an elucidating second ideogram 衤 'clothes': 衤. Here, then, the upper part is really the original character, the lower part is a later addition, strictly speaking unnecessary. But formally it looks as if the character consists of one »radical« 衤 and one »phonetic« 求, and hence, illegitimately, falls under the traditional cat. *hie sheng*.
- 4) An ideogram (simple or compound) may be applied, by extension of meaning, to a kindred abstract word, e. g. 交 'cross-legged man' > 'to cross, interchange, contact' (cat. *chuan chu*).
- 5) An ideogram (simple or compound) may be applied as a phonogram for a totally different, non-cognate word, without being changed at all, e. g. 求 *g'jōg* (*k'iü*) 'fur' loaned for *g'jōg* (*k'iü*) 'to pray' (cat. *kia tsie*).
- 6) An ideogram (simple or compound) may be applied as a phonogram to a

totally different, non-cognate word, but for the sake of clearness distinguished by an additional, expletive ideogram: 求 *g'jōg* 'fur' loaned for 逑 *g'jōg* 'associate' (是 being the secondary, expletive ideogram) (cat. *hie sheng* proper).

It should be observed that the limit between categories 5 and 6 here is very vague. The addition of differentiating radicals has been carried through very unsystematically and casually. In many cases, e. g. 求 'to pray', there has never been made to this day any expletive addition of a »radical». In many thousands of cases (such as 逑), on the contrary, this addition was already a fact in the inscriptions of Ts'in and Han and in the Shuo wen.

7) There may be a combination of 2 and 6, so that a character may be a compound ideogram in which both elements combine to make up the sense; and at the same time one of them is chosen to be a phonogram, e. g. 忍 Pek. *jen* 'to suffer' from 心 'heart' and 刂 'sharp edge', the latter also read Pek. *jen*.

These facts may be summed up thus:

On the one hand, there are pure ideograms, used as unadulterated ideograms, with no phonetic considerations whatsoever. Such are not only the categories *siang hing* (»pictograms»), *chī shī* (»indicators»), *huei i* (»combined ideas») and *chuan chu* (»extended meanings») of the Chinese philologists, but also the pseudo-*hie-sheng* (»agreeing sounds») of the type 表 (where 求 is only apparently a »phonetic»).

On the other hand, there are ideograms used as phonograms. These are of three kinds:

unaltered ideograms used as phonograms, like 求 'to pray' (*kia tsie* »loans»); primarily simple ideograms used as phonograms and subsequently enlarged, like 逑 (*hie sheng* »agreeing sounds» proper);

primarily compound ideograms, one element of which is used at the same time as a phonogram, like 忍 (*huei i* and *hie sheng* simultaneously).

After this analysis of the various structural categories of characters, let us revert to the question of the missing Chou characters and the probability or improbability of their being identical (but for technical modifications) with those standardized as *siao-chuan* »small seal» characters in Ts'in and early Han time.

In the first place, then, we have to discuss the fundamental ideograms, which form the basis of the whole script, the *siang hing*, *chī shī* and *huei i*. They form but a small part of the total number of characters. The Shuo wen, with its 9353 characters (variants uncounted), reckons 364 *siang hing*, 125 *chī shī* and 1167 *huei i*.

In these categories we cannot give a general yes or no as answer to the question posed. Every individual case has to be judged by itself. In a great many cases of ideograms the original composition is faithfully preserved. The *siao chuan* forms of 口 'mouth', 馬 'horse', 目 'eye' — hundreds of cases — are but slight technical modifications of the primeval pictures. And many compound ideograms (*huei i*) are also quite conservative and faithful, e. g. 休 'to rest' (a

man at the side of a tree). A considerable number of these ideograms are attested in bone and bronze inscriptions and allow us to ascertain their unaltered composition right from Yin time down to the *siao chuan* (and hence to our own day), and we may draw the inference that many other *siao chuan* ideograms, for which there are no pre-Ts'in prototypes known, are equally faithful.

But, on the other hand, the very nature of these early graphs — pictograms which were varied infinitely in their technical execution by the Chou-time scribes — made them strongly susceptible to being corrupted and misunderstood. It needed but small alterations to make the original composition and sense of such pictograms unrecognizable, and then Li Si and his coadjutors in 221 B. C., when normalizing them into the *siao-chuan*, sometimes made awful mistakes. In some cases, where we do have bone or bronze forms, we have evidence of this. *Hu* 'tiger' was in *siao chuan*, explained as the stripes of the tiger — but bronze forms like show this to be a corruption of the drawing of the animal itself. *Ling* 'to command' was in *siao chuan* , the lower part being 'seal' — but early bronze forms clearly show the figure of a kneeling man. In the case of many hundreds of *siao chuan* ideograms (*siang hing*, *chi shi*, *huei i*), of which there are no pre-Ts'in prototypes known, we must always remain extremely sceptical as to the faithfulness of the script tradition from Chou to Ts'in.

Quite different is the case of the phonograms. Here it is no longer a question of the more or less faithful keeping-up of the structure of the ideogram itself, but of the phonogrammatic application of an already existing ideogram to other words.

The phonograms in the *siao chuan* of Ts'in and Han time are extremely numerous. In the Shuo wen they form about 4/5 of the total number of characters, in K'ang-hi tsi-tien about 9/10, the great majority of them belonging to our cat. 6 above (*hie sheng* proper, one phonetic + one radical). Here the question will be this: were these extremely frequent *hie sheng* simply taken over from Chou time and incorporated in the standard *siao chuan*, or were they an innovation in this normalized script of the Ts'in? If we look at our examples above of common words which are not attested in Yin and Chou inscriptions but which must necessarily have existed and have had their written characters already in early Chou time, we shall find that the great majority are rendered, from Ts'in and Han time, by *hie sheng* phonograms. Were these phonograms original, is the *siao chuan* in regard to them a continuation of the Chou script; were they already employed in the extensive secular literature of the Chou of which we now have no manuscripts? Or were there thousands of other characters, differently constructed (*siang hing*, *chi shi*, *huei i*), which served for these words instead, characters that were rejected in 221 B. C. and are therefore unknown to us, characters that were replaced in the *siao chuan* by the phonograms we find from Ts'in onwards as characters for those words?

Let us emphasize at once that the latter alternative is extremely unlikely. Some such substitutions did certainly occur,¹⁾ but it is reasonable to expect them to have been few. Hü Shen, in his *Shuo wen*, has exhibited a keen palaeographic interest. He lived close enough to the Chou epoch to have extensive materials and first-hand knowledge of the late Chou writing. He gives us a considerable number of variants from Chou time (*pre-siao-chuan*) which had come to his knowledge, and yet most of them are *hie sheng* phonograms, comparatively very few are pure ideograms (*siang hing, chi shü, huei i*).

But we are, fortunately, in a position to prove the matter definitely, in regard to the great number of *hie sheng* characters; we need not be satisfied with mere probability. Linguistics will furnish us with the necessary touchstone.

We have already insisted on the fact that there is no very fixed limit between cat. 5, the *kia tsie* (求 *g'ióg* 'fur' loaned for *g'ióg* 'to pray', without any addition to the character), and cat. 6, the *hie sheng* (求 *g'ióg* 'fur' loaned for *g'ióg* 'associate', but for the sake of clearness augmented with an extra radical: 遂). Whether an expletive radical has been subsequently added or not is not very important, the essential point being the phonogram principle, the use of an earlier ideogram as a phonetic loan for a totally different word. Our problem thus dissolves into two, of which the first is by far the most important:

A. Were the same phonetic loans made in early Chou as in the *siao chuan* (Ts'in and Han), was the choice of phonograms the same, and simply faithfully adhered to at the time of the fixing of the *siao-chuan*?

B. If so, were the additional, expletive radicals — in the thousands of cases where they were present already in the Ts'in and Han script — added already in the Chou script, or did their addition to the characters constitute an innovation around 221 B. C.?

Let us express these questions by a concrete example. In the *Shi* king we have three words all pronounced Chou *jen*: 1. 'to rely on'; 2. 'a marriage match'; 3. 'a grey horse'. In the present *Shi*, as handed down from Han time, they are written 因, 媵 and 駒 respectively. The character 因 we know from bronze inscriptions, and have every reason to believe that the word was so written in the *Shi* text when copied out in 800—600 B. C. But the other two? 媵 for 'marriage' had its origin in 因 *jen* having been applied as phonogram for 'marriage' and 女 'woman' being an elucidating additional radical; again, for *jen* 'grey horse' 因 'to rely on' has been borrowed (phonogram), and a distinctive radical 駒 'horse' has been added. We know neither the graph 媵 nor the graph 駒 from bronze inscriptions. When a scribe wrote out his *Shi* text in 800—600 B. C., did he use the same phonograms as in later ages, in other words, did he

¹⁾ There is a bronze form  which we have good reasons for believing to be an ideograph for the word *huan* 'ring', from Ts'in time written with a *hie sheng* phonogram 环. Another example is the name of the feudal state Ts'ai, which in the bronze inscriptions is written  but from Ts'in time is written with the *hie sheng* 蔡.

borrow 因 'jen' 'rely on' for 'jen' 'marriage' and for 'jen' 'grey horse', or did he write some quite different ideograms for those words, ideograms which we now know nothing about (question A above)? And, if he used 因 as a phonogram for both these words, did he already then elucidate and differentiate these phonogrammatic loans by adding radicals: 妻, 马, or did he write simply 因 for both 'marriage' and 'grey horse', in other words are the additional radicals 女 and 马 later inventions, say of Ts'in time (question B)?

It is easily seen that the great fundamental and important question is the first, A. Whether 因 'jen' as a phonogram for 'jen' 'marriage' and for 'jen' 'grey horse' received extra radicals at all, or had they obtained such already in early Chou time, or did they get them only in Ts'in time (*siao chuan*), are questions of subordinate importance and interest. The all-important point is (question A) whether already in early Chou 因 'jen', borrowed from the word 'rely on', was used as phonogram for 'jen' 'marriage' and for 'jen' 'grey horse'. If it was, then there was really no great breach in the script tradition about 221 B. C., the phonograms (the great majority of all characters) were the same in early Chou as in Ts'in, Han and later ages — whether they had additional radicals or not. And we may then conclude that in the extensive lay literature of early, middle and late Chou of which we now have no manuscripts, the majority of the words were written with the same phonograms (be it *kia tsie* without radicals, or *hie sheng* with radicals) as today.

A positive answer to our question A is furnished by linguistic researches. The question is intimately connected with the principles of my reconstructions of Archaic Chinese (*Shi king Researches*, and *Word Families in Chinese*, in this Bulletin, vols. 4 and 5).

We know almost down to the most minute details the pronunciation of the words in Sui time about 600 A. D. (*Ancient Chinese*, as expressed in the dictionary *Ts'ie yü*). And if this concerns in the first place the living words, all of which were in current use from archaic times down to 600 A. D., it also comprises, curiously enough, thousands of words which had been living words in Chou time, but which became obsolete during Han and Liu ch'ao times. This is due to the conscientious traditions of successive schools of commentators. When a word like 求 Chou *g'iôg* 'to pray' stage by stage changed into Sui *g'izu* (modern *k'iu*), the character remained unaltered and the gradual modification of the sound was never felt nor noticed by the writers. But ever since the time when 逑 'associate' was a living and current word and everybody knew that it was pronounced *g'iôg*, it shared the phonetic fate of its homophone 求 *g'iôg* 'to pray', and when 逑 became obsolete and unused in the spoken language, the scholars still knew that it was homophonous with 求 'to pray', and in its wake and parallel with the phonetic change of 求 *g'iôg* > *g'izu*, 逑 became, in the pronunciation of the text-reading scholars and commentators, Sui *g'izu*. Thus, thanks to the scholars, we know, so to speak, the Sui-time »projection»

of the pronunciation of words in Chou literature which became obsolete in Han and Liu ch'ao times.

On the other hand, the rime categories of the very extensive collection of poetry known as the *Shi* king, dating from the centuries 800—600 B. C., have been exhaustively studied and determined by Chinese scholars, especially Tuan Yü-ts'ai, Wang Nien-sun, Kiang Yu-kao, K'ung Kuang-sen. A careful scrutiny of these rime categories and the fate of their words down into the *Suei* language (600 A. D.) has made it possible to reconstruct the phonetic system of the *Shi* king language in its essential features. But strictly speaking it should only be allowable to apply our reconstructive results to the words occurring as rimes. Other words with the same *Suei* pronunciation, though they do occur in the *Shi* king text (but not as rimes), need not have had the same *Shi*-time pronunciation as their *Suei* homophones. They may have been different in sound in Chou time and coalesced in sound in *Suei*. If we know, for reasons of rime, that 夫, which was *Suei* *p̥iu*, was *p̥iwo* in *Shi* king, it is not *eo ipso* certain that 付 *Suei* *p̥iu*, which does not occur as a *Shi* rime, was also, like its *Suei* homophone 夫, a Chou *p̥iwo*. Indeed it was not: 夫 was Chou *p̥iwo* and 付 was Chou *p̥iu*, and they happen to have coincided in *Suei* *p̥iu*. And yet in my article »Word families in Chinese» I have by analogy introduced *Shi*-time readings for a great many words which are not rime words in the *Shi*. I have taken this liberty for a special reason.

The phonetic categories of the Shī (800—600 B. C.) do not in any way correspond to those of the Suei language (600 A. D.), which is but natural, seeing that the language has changed enormously during the lapse of more than a millennium. Thus, for instance, to the -en category of the Suei (finals -ien, -iɛn, rimes 先, 真 of the Ts'ie yün), there correspond no less than three categories (rime classes) in the Shī: 1. -ien, -iɛn; 2. -iən, -iɔ̄n; 3. -ian. If we now examine the *hie sheng* characters used as rimes in our present Shī text, we shall find, e. g.:

- ### 1. Shī -ien, -iĕn (Suei -ien, -iĕn):

麟轍鄰顛墮闐申神電姻駟荼棟塗臻新親薪肩嬪瀆陳

2. Shī -iən, -iɛn (Suei -ien, -iɛn): 晚晨振震先詭眇兮

- ### 3. Shī -ian (Suei -ien): 見遷

As we see, the phonetics 雍 真 申 因 秦 采 賀 陳 always occur in the 1st Shí rime class, never in the 2nd or the 3rd; the phonetics 辰 先 參 always appear in the 2nd class, never in the 1st or 3rd; the elements 見 and 遷 belong to the 3rd class, and are never used in the 1st or 2nd.

Thus the *hie sheng* phonograms show exactly the same tripartite system as the Shī king. Each »phonetic« occurs, as a rime, in one definite Shī rime cate-

gory, and not in the other two. If the phonograms (with or without radicals) had been invented in a later epoch, when the -ien: -iən: -ian of the Shī language had coalesced into one homogeneous -ien (-iən), as in the Suei language, then this distinction in the *hie sheng* would not have been observed — it would not even have been possible to observe it.

This is only an isolated example, and it may be argued that it proves no more than that the distinctions of the Shī:

-ien: -iən: -ian (all three > Suei -ien)

were still kept up in Ts'in and Han time, and that that is the reason why these distinctions are reflected in the *hie sheng* phonograms as well. But this objection loses its force when we find that the same phenomenon obtains, not in one or two isolated groups but in a long series of the rime classes of the Shī. Let us add some more examples, since this is a decisive point in our argument.

The final -ie of Suei (Ts'ie yün r. 支) is derived from two strictly distinguished Shī categories, -ia and -iəg, e. g. 池 Chou d'ia, Suei d'iəg, 知 Chou tiəg, Suei tiəg. Among the Shī rime words we find:

1. Shī -ia (Suei -ie): 離繙儀議倚鉤椅倚池馳
2. Shī -iəg (Suei -ie): 支伎枝

The *hie sheng* phonograms mirror faithfully the distinctions of the Shī king.

The final -a of Suei derived from two strictly distinguished Chou finals, -ā and -a, e. g. 家 Chou kā and 加 Chou ka, both Suei ka. In the Shī rimes we find:

1. Shī -ā (Suei -a): 家稼假瑕葭暇嘏
2. Shī -a (Suei -a): 加加嘉鶯

Thus the series 家 假 are limited to the 1st rime category in the Shī, the series 加 to the 2nd. The *hie sheng* phonograms faithfully reflect the language of the Shī.

The final -iu of Suei derived from two different Chou finals, -iwo and -iu, e.g. 夫 Chou piwo and 付 Chou piu, both Suei piu. Among the Shī rime words we find:

1. Shī -iwo (Suei -iu): 吻芋吁吁吁吁吁吁吁吁吁吁吁吁
2. Shī -iu (Suei -iu): 愉愈渝愈愈愈愈愈愈愈愈愈愈

The *hie sheng* phonograms mirror very faithfully the two distinct categories of the Shī.

The final *-i^üg* of Suei derived from two different Chou finals, *-i^üg* and *iōg*, e. g. 久 Chou *k^üg* and 九 Chou *k^üg*, both Suei *k^üg*. Among the Shī rime words we find:

1. Shī *-i^üg* (Suei *-i^üg*): 九 齊 又 有 右 友 久 玫 疾
2. Shī *-iōg* (Suei *-i^üg*): 游 遊 流 旗 悠 僮 條 周 調 矛 魏 舟 軒 苗 猶 獬 道

The 尤, 又 and 久 derivate regularly fall in the 1st rime category, the 周 etc. derivate in the 2nd. The *hie sheng* show exactly the same distinctions as the Shī, quite unlike the Suei language.

The final *-wi* of the Ts'ie yün (rime 脂) derived from two different Chou finals, *-iwəd* and *-iwər*, e. g. 類 Chou *lⁱwəd* and 異 Chou *lⁱwər*, both Suei *lⁱwi*. Among the Shī rime words we find:

1. Shī *-iwəd* (Suei *-wi*): 遂 楊 繼 隘 醉 萍 痞
2. Shī *-iwər* (Suei *-wi*): 唯 惟 緇 異 蘭

The *hie sheng* series observe exactly the same distinctions as the Shī rimes.

The final *-jəi*, *-jwəi* of Suei derived from two different Chou finals, *-jər*, *-jwər* and *-jəd*, *-iwəd*, e. g. 幾 Chou *k^jər*, Suei *k^jəi*, 氣 Chou *k^jəd*, Suei *k^jəi*. Among the Shī rimes we find:

1. Shī *-jər*, *-jwər* (Suei *-jəi*, *-jwəi*): 幾 裳 衣 依 遠 煙 萍 團 蘭 菲 駢 肅 非 微 蕃
2. Shī *-jəd*, *-iwəd* (Suei *-jəi*, *-jwəi*): 氣 堅 貴 謂 渦 味

The *hie sheng* series 幾, 衣, 萍, 菲, 微 occur exclusively in the 1st rime class, never in the 2nd.

The final *-uāi* of Suei derived from two different Chou finals, *-wəg* and *-wər*, e. g. 媒 Chou *m^wəg* and 枚 Chou *m^wər*, both Suei *muāi*. Among the Shī rime words we find:

1. Shī *-wəg* (Suei *-uāi*): 梅 悅 喻 詩 媒
2. Shī *-wər* (Suei *-uāi*): 曜 罷 推 崔

The distinctions are the same in the *hie sheng* as in the Shī rimes.

The final -jäk of Suei derived from two different Chou finals, e. g. 脣 Chou *tsjëk* and 踏 Chou *tsjäk*, both Suei *tsjäk*. Among the Shī rime words we find:

1. Shī -jëk (Suei -jäk): 易 賴 脣 踏 適
2. Shī -jäk (Suei -jäk): 石 碩 昔 踏 蘋 澤 數 繹 席 蘭

The *hie sheng* show the same distinctions as the Shī.

The final -juk of Suei derived from two different Chou finals, -jük and -jök, e. g. 服 Chou *b'jük* and 復 Chou *b'jök*, both Suei *b'juk*. Among the Shī rimes we find:

1. Shī -jük (Suei -juk): 福 輻 富 服
2. Shī -jök (Suei -juk): 復 腹 褒 舛 物 逐 遂 奥 煙 莫

Here again the *hie sheng* reveal exactly the same distinctions as the Shī rimes.

When we thus go from category to category in the Shī king and find that the *hie sheng* phonograms reveal throughout exactly the same distinctions of phonetic groups and sub-groups¹⁾ as the Shī, then it cannot be argued that the agreement between the *hie sheng* group distinctions and the Shī rime class dis-

¹⁾ Of course there are exceptions. In an article «The poetical parts in Lao-tsï» (1932) I have shown that there were two widely different rime systems in Chou works. One was very strict, even to the extent of phonetic niceties; one was careless, and a very remote phonetic similarity was often sufficient to justify a rime. The latter system obtains in occasional rimed sentences in a long series of prose works (Kiang Yu-kao has recorded a great number of them, but he has by no means realized all the cases that were meant to be rimes, though very poor ones, cf. my article just quoted). The other is carried through in the Shī king, and this shows that whatever the themes were — picked up from various parts of the feudal states — the versification and rimes have been worked over very thoroughly in the Royal capital, so as to show a strictly homogeneous system. But of course a rime of the laxer system crops up here and there, a *licentia poetica* that was unavoidable. Fortunately the rimed stanzas of the Shī are so numerous that Tuan Yü-ts'ai was able to state with perfect certainty which rimes were irregular and exceptional. It stands to reason that we have to disregard the latter (the percentage of them is quite small) in making our phonetic reconstructions.

A very curious problem is the nature of the Ch'u ts'i, the odes of which were written in the last centuries of the Chou era. In spite of their being many centuries younger than the Shī odes and their having been composed to a large extent by men from Ch'u, they have just the same intricate rime system as the Shī king. It is hardly conceivable that K'ü Yuan and Sung Yü could have spoken a language sufficiently similar to that of the Shī to cause their rimes to conform entirely to the rime system of the Shī. The explanation is quite different: the Shī was already sufficiently authoritative and normative for the high poetry to force the authors to follow its rime categories — even if they were not really efficient rimes in their own spoken dialects. The same phenomenon has repeated itself in later times, when the T'ang rimes were normative in later poetry, when they were no longer really rimes, phonetically speaking.

tinctions was due to a similarity of the Ts'in and Han language to that of the early Chou. It is inconceivable that the language could have been so conservative as to present, in 221 B. C., exactly the same phonological divisions, in group after group, as in 800—600 B. C. Unless we suppose that the language remained unchanged even in detail for half a millennium, which is impossible, we must conclude that the phonograms in the Shī are contemporaneous with its rime categories, i. e. are to be dated in the centuries 800—600 B. C., if not slightly older.

The fact that the language of the Shī king and that of the *hie sheng* phonograms is one and the same, and that the sound-group distinctions are the same in the Shī rimes and the *hie sheng* is of extreme importance in so far as it allows us to reconstruct the archaic readings of a great many Shī king characters which do *not* occur as rime characters. Without this congruence we should be at a loss to reconstruct anything at all outside the pale of the rime characters. We know, on the one hand, that Chou -ien, -iən and -ian all give Suei -ien (see above). When, now, in the Shī we find a character 隅 read Suei t'ien, we cannot *a priori* know whether this was a Chou t'ien or t'iən or t'ian. But since we now know that the »phonetic« 真 occurs exclusively in the category -ien of the Shī (see above), not in the categories -iən and -ian, we are in a position to reconstruct the compound as a Chou t'ien. In other words, for every »phonetic«, the position of which inside the sound categories of the Shī language we know thanks to one or several regular rimes, we are able to determine the Shī time readings of all the derivates (*hie sheng*) of that phonetic occurring in the Shī, thanks to this localization inside the phonological categories of the Shī on the one hand, and to our knowledge of their Suei pronunciation (their »projection» in Suei time) on the other.

So far we have discussed exclusively the words occurring in the Shī king. We have seen that linguistic considerations force us to conclude that the great number of phonograms in our present Shī king texts were chosen as such (whether as *kia tsie* or as *hie sheng*) already in 800—600 B. C., and were simply taken over in the *siao chuan* reform of 221 B. C. What, then, of all those thousands of other more or less common words which do not happen to occur in the Shī but which we know from other Chou texts, words which must have had their written graphs long before 221, and which, all from Ts'in time, are rendered by phonograms (*hie sheng*)?

Here again the Shī rimes can give us a valuable clue, though in a somewhat different way.

In all our examples above we have had different Shī categories which coalesced in Suei time: Shī -ien, -iən, -ian all > Suei -ien, and so on. But sometimes the evolution has been just the opposite: categories which were originally very similar have diverged in the evolution and resulted in greater differences in Suei time.

There is, for instance, a rime class in the Shī which has the following elements:

覺	篤	肅	戚	包	老	休	蕭	
Shī	ôk	ôk	îôk	iôk	ôg	ôg	îôg	iôg
	+							
Suei	âk	uok	îuk	iek	au	âu	îgu	ieu

We see that as a result of the phonetic evolution we obtain a highly variegated pattern for the rimes of this Shī rime class, as soon as we insert the Suei values (600 A. D.) instead of those of the Shī epoch (800—600 B. C.): -âk: -uok: -îuk: -iek: -au: -âu: -îgu: -ieu.

If we now turn to the *hie sheng* characters (in order to avoid characters created in Liu ch'ao and later times we adduce only characters existing in the Shuo wen) and examine, for instance, the derivates of a common »phonetic» in their Suei readings, we obtain the same variegated pattern:

1. 肅 2. 滴 3. 橋 4. 編 5. 蕭 嘴 蘭 6. 臍

1. Suei *síuk*; 2. *síuk* and *sieu*; 3. *síuk* and *sieu* and *sau*; 4. *sígu*; 5. *sieu*; 6. *sígu* and *sieu*.

A series like this is highly instructive. The readings are extremely variegated, and from the point of view of the Suei language 蕭 *síuk* is a very unsatisfactory »phonetic» in *sígu*, *sieu*, *sau*. But we find that the variation keeps strictly within the limits of this particular Shī rime class, and this is decisive. The phonograms cannot possibly have been chosen at a time when the readings were at all similar to those of Suei time; they have necessarily been chosen when the language possessed the phonological system of the Shī king, for if we insert the Shī values we obtain a clear and logical series:

1. Chou *siôk*; 2. *siôk* and *siôg*; 3. *siôk* and *siôg* and *sôg*; 4. *siôg*; 5. *siôg*; 6. *siôg* and *siôg*.

In order to show that this is not an isolated case we shall add some more examples belonging to the same Shī rime class.

1. 末 叔 2. 漱 3. 塷 4. 極 5. 析 6. 睞 7. 咳 8. 寢 9. 憊 10. 做 11. 哽 12. 跡 13. 槐

1. Suei *síuk*; 2. *éíuk*; 3. *téíuk*; 4. *tsíuk*; 5. *dz'íuk*; 6. *tuok*; 7. *ts'iek*; 8. *dz'iek*; 9. *niek*; 10. *ts'íuk* and *t'iek*; 11. *tsíuk* and *dz'iek*; 12. *tsíuk* and *d'iek*; 13. *ts'ígu*.

This interchange of such widely differing finals as -uok: -íuk: -iek: -ígu in one *hie sheng* series seems unreasonable, and judged from the Suei language it is unreasonable; but all these finals fall within our Shī rime class in question, and the series becomes quite clear if we give it in the Shī language, on which these phonograms were evidently based:

1. Chou *siôk*; 2. *diôk*; 3. *î'ôk*; 4. *tsiôk*; 5. *dz'iôk*; 6. *tôk*; 7. *ts'iôk*; 8. *dz'iôk*; 9. *niôk*; 10. *î'ôk* and *t'iôk*; 11. *tsiôk* and *dz'iôk*; 12. *tsiôk* and *d'iôk*; 13. *ts'iôg*.

Another example from the same Shī rime class:

告 詰 邵 皓 靠 晃 浩 寶 磔 皓 皓 酷 韻 皓 烛

1. Swei *kâu* and *kuok*;
2. *kâu*;
3. *k'âu*;
4. *yâu*;
5. *kau*;
6. *k'ák*;
7. *kuok*;
8. *k'uok*;
9. *kâk* and *kuok*;
10. *k'âu* and *k'uok*.

Here again we find widely divergent readings within one *hie sheng* series; and yet all are within the same Shī rime class and are perfectly clear when we realize that they are built up on the Shī language:

1. Chou *kôg* and *kôk*;
2. *kôg*;
3. *k'ôg*;
4. *g'ôg*;
5. *kôg*;
6. *k'ôk*;
7. *kôk*;
8. *k'ôk*;
9. *kôk*;
10. *k'ôg* and *k'ôk*.

Yet another example:

奥 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚 奚

1. Swei *·âu*;
2. *·juk*;
3. *·âu* and *·juk*.

The combination of *-âu* and *-juk* of the Swei language in one *hie sheng* series seems quite ridiculous; but it falls within the range of our Shī rime class and becomes quite intelligible as soon as we realize that the phonograms were chosen in early Chou time:

1. Chou *·ôg*;
2. *·jôk*;
3. *·ôg* and *·jôk*.

These examples could easily be multiplied. There is, for instance, within this same Shī rime class, 由 Swei *îzu*, phonetic in 軸 *d'juk* and 笛 *d'iek* (i. e. Shī *d'jôg* phonetic in *d'jôk* and *d'iôk*); there is 故 Swei *îzu* phonetic in 條 *d'ieu*, 條 *t'âu* and 條 *siuk* (Shī *d'jôg* phonetic in *d'iôg*, *t'ôg* and *siôk*), and so on.

The phenomenon we have just studied: that the phonetically strongly divergent Swei-time readings within one *hie sheng* series can be explained only by reference to the corresponding Shī rime class, and that therefore these *hie sheng* are based on an early language identical with that of the Shī king, is by no means limited to this particular Shī rime class, though so far we have chosen all our examples in this category. It may suffice to indicate very briefly some cases from other rime classes.

One Shī rime class comprises a. o. *-jwət* and *-jwəd*, and these have diverged strongly in Swei, e. g.:

	弗	貴
Chou	<i>pjwət</i>	<i>kjwəd</i>
Swei	<i>pjwət</i>	<i>kjwəi</i>

This is mirrored in the *hie sheng* series: 弗 Swei *pjwət* is phonetic in 痞 Swei *pjwəi*, explainable only by the early Chou sounds: 弗 *pjwət*: 痞 *pjwəd*.

One Shī rime class comprises -əg, -ək, -iəg, -iək, iǔk, iǔg (evidently ū here had a modified and more open sound than ordinary long *u*, i. e. something like -iōg¹), which finals have resulted in a highly variegated system in Suei time, e. g.:

	來	黑	意	億	久	福
Chou	ləg	χək	iəg	iək	kǐüg	pǐük
▼						
Suei	lāi	χək	i	iək	kǐzu	pǐuk

Thus one and the same Shī rime class comprises, in Suei readings, such different finals as ㄞ : ㄔ : ㄕ : ㄢ : ㄤ : ㄩ. Corresponding to this we find in the *hie sheng* series:

亥 Suei γāi phonetic in 刻 Suei k'ək is explainable only by the early Chou (Shī king) readings: 亥 g'əg: 刻 k'ək.

弋 Suei iək phonetic in 代 Suei d'āi is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 弋 diək: 代 d'əg.

寺 Suei zi phonetic in 待 Suei d'āi and 特 Suei d'ək is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 寺 dz̥iəg: 待 d'əg: 特 d'ək.

意 Suei i phonetic in 億 Suei iək is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 意 iəg: 億 iək.

直 Suei d'iək phonetic in 置 Suei i̯i is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 直 d'iək: 置 t̥iəg.

式 Suei s̥iək phonetic in 試 Suei si is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 式 s̥iək: 試 s̥iəg.

北 Suei pək as against 背 Suei puāi is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 北 pək: 背 p̥wəg.

不 Suei piəu phonetic in 正 Suei p'ju̯i and 益 Suei puāi is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 不 piəg (»piōg»): 正 p'jəg: 益 p̥wəg.

有 Suei jiəu phonetic in 賄 Suei xuāi is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 有 giəg (»giōg»): 賄 xwəg.

福 Suei piük as against 富 Suei piəu is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 福 piük: 富 piəg.

Yet another Shī rime class comprises a. o. the finals -āt: -ād: -iāt: -iād, which have given strongly diverging Suei finals, e. g.:

	葛	帶	烈	厲
Chou	kāt	tād	l̥iāt	l̥iād
▼				
Suei	kāt	tāi	l̥iāt	l̥iāi

And so one Shī rime class offers, in its Suei readings, a considerable variety: -āt: -ād: -iāt: -iāi. And quite correspondingly we find in the *hie sheng* series:

¹⁾ That words of this category none the less had, etymologically, -iǔg follows from what I have adduced BMFEA 5, p. 51.

害 Suei *yâi* phonetic in 割 Suei *kât* is explainable only by the early Chou sounds: 害 *g'âd*: 割 *kât*.

兌 Suei *d'uâi* phonetic in 脫 *t'wâi*, 悅 Suei *îwät*, 說 Suei *śiwäi*, 稅 Suei *śiwäi*, 銳 Suei *îwai* is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 兌 *d'wâd*: 脫 *t'wât*, 悅 *îwât*, 說 *śiwat*, 稅 *śiwad*, 銳 *îwad*.

折 Suei *t'siât* phonetic in 逝 Suei *zjäi* is explainable only by the Chou sounds: 折 *t'ziat*: 逝 *diad*.

It would be easy to adduce a great number of cases like these. We have thus arrived, by linguistic methods, at some highly interesting and important conclusions: first that the phonograms of the Shî king, such as 姜 and 驕 (written with or without 女 and 馬 — a question to which we shall revert presently), had already been chosen in early Chou; and secondly that the bulk of the other phonograms (besides those of the Shî king), such as we know them from our modern transcriptions of various Chou texts, were in principle chosen already in Chou time and not invented in Ts'in or Han time. At the time of the *siao chuan* reform in 221 B. C. they were simply taken over and — with the purely technical modification which the transition from *ta chuan* to *siao chuan* entailed — incorporated in the Ts'in and Han script. Therefore, what has been said of the phonograms of the Shî king above may be applied with equal justification to other phonograms of Chou texts: once we know on the one hand their Suei time »projections» and on the other hand the place of their »phonetics» in the rime classes of the Shî king, we are able to reconstruct their early Chou-time pronunciation.

This may seem to be a bold statement, and it must be pointed out that there is one possible source of error in certain cases. Our argumentation above presupposes that the stock of phonograms is homogeneous in the sense that it was invented by speakers of one and the same language, that of Royal Chou, in which the songs of the Shî king were formulated. But theoretically there is nothing to prevent us from believing that certain phonograms were invented, not in the great centre at the Royal Court, where certainly the great majority of the current characters were created (in so far as they had not been taken over from Yin time), but in some feudal court far away from the capital. There the division of the words into phonetic categories may have been quite different from that of the Royal Chou language and in that case our law governing the reconstruction of the Chou reading according to the »phonetics» of the *hie sheng* would break down.

I think, however, that the risk of this is fairly small. Everything points to a great homogeneity in the *hie sheng* characters of Chou time. The bronze inscriptions from various feudal courts do not seem to favour the idea of geographical variations in the script (except the states of Ts'in and Ch'u in the last Chou centuries, and then mainly in regard to the technical *ductus* of the script).

After all, the great and powerful centre was for many centuries Royal Chou — long enough to have had its script entirely elaborated and made authoritative all over the »middle kingdoms«. In our stock of bronze inscriptions, incomparably the most important ones in length, literary variation and refinement are those of Royal Chou. It is questionable whether it was ever the practice or even allowed to create new characters not emanating from this religious, ritual and cultural centre. As long as we deal with really common words and characters current in several Chou-time texts, we may reckon upon being on perfectly safe ground: their characters were certainly created in the literary centre, the Chou of the Shī king. *Hapax legomena* in more peripheral writings, on the contrary, will always offer a greater degree of uncertainty.

But even here the risks of mistakes in the sound reconstructions are considerably reduced by two facts.

In the first place, although a character may have been invented provincially, not in Chou, it is of course not *eo ipso* certain that the dialect on which it was based differed from that of Chou on this very phonetic point. Take two modern Chinese dialects, those of Peking and Canton, separated geographically by an enormous distance and so extremely different that they are entirely unintelligible reciprocally. And yet there is quite a considerable number of words that are identical in sounds in both: 罗 *lo*, 多 *to*, 左 *tso*, 巴 *pa*, 怕 *p'a*, 馬 *ma*, 夜 *ye*, 過 *kuo*, 瓜 *kua*, 詩 *k'ua*, 夂 *i*, 被 *pei*, 非 *fei*, 悲 *pei*, 玀 *p'ei*, 美 *mei*, 賴 *lai*, 帶 *tai*, 泰 *t'ai*, 排 *p'ai*, 埋 *mai*, 媚 *nai* etc. There are much greater chances of similarity between the dialects in the small archaic China.

In the second place, even if we do not assume identity of pronunciation between the peripheral dialect and that of Chou, there is still a fact which reduces the risk considerably: the parallelism between dialects, so common for instance in modern Chinese. Peking -*ang* corresponds regularly with T'ai-yüan -ā: Pek. *kang*, *tang*, *lang*, *sang*, *pang* = T'ayi. *kâ*, *tâ*, *lâ*, *sâ*, *pâ*. Peking -*ou* corresponds regularly with Canton -*au*: Pek. *kou*, *hou*, *ou*, *lou*, *tou* = Cant. *kau*, *hau*, *au*, *lau*, *tau*, and so on. Suppose now that we find a very rare character, say 𩫑, which, as far as I am aware, occurs only in Chuang-tsi, and can thus be suspected of being a word in the Ch'u dialect and a locally invented character; and suppose at the same time that this was a point where Chou and Ch'u diverged phonetically. The »phonetic« 陳 is to be found in the Shī (Royal Chou) rime class -*ien*, -*iɛn* (see above). The Suei projections of this class are exclusively -*ien* and -*iɛn*. Now two things may happen:

Either the commentators¹⁾ give a Suei reading which falls outside this Shī rime class, e. g. *d'an*, *d'uən* or such-like; in that case we can see immediately

¹⁾ The commentators are extremely scrupulous, it must be emphasized. Even when pronunciation tradition is diametrically opposed to the »phonetics» of the character, they faithfully adhere to the tradition and do not tamper with it in order to bring it into harmony with the *hie sheng* rules, e. g. 𩫑, the Suei reading of which, *liei*, is entirely contrary to what might be expected.

that the word was really dialectal, and we can eliminate it from our Chou vocabulary.

Or the commentators give a Suei reading which does actually fall within this Shī rime class, as happens to be the case with this character of Chuang-tsī: 陳 is given as Suei *d'ien*. Now, we have seen above that Suei -ien corresponds to two Shī rime classes: 1. -ien; 2. -ian. If our word were known to be a Royal Chou word (if it existed in the Shī, for instance), we could place it at once, according to its phonetic 陳, in the 1st, the -ien class. But if the character were based on a deviating Ch'u dialect, then, again, two things may happen:

Either there was a phonetic parallelism between Royal Chou and Ch'u (for the sake of argument we shall construct deviating Ch'u values that are purely imaginative):

Class 1. 陳 Chou *d'ien* Ch'u *d'ien* Suei *d'ien*.

Class 2. 振 Chou *tien* Ch'u *tin* Suei *tsien*.

The group distinctions are the same in Ch'u as in Chou, though the values are different; there is a parallelism. Now 陳 was, we suppose, Ch'u *d'ien*, and therefore the Ch'u scribe wrote it with 陳 *d'ien* as »phonetic«. According to our rules we reconstruct it as a Chou *d'ien*. Are we wrong in doing so? No, we simply transpose it into what it would regularly be in the Royal Chou dialect, according to the laws of parallelism of the two dialects. Our substitution of Chou *d'ien* for Ch'u *d'ien* is not only a legitimate but a very useful normalization.

Or else there was no phonetic parallelism between Royal Chou and Ch'u (we still construct imaginary Ch'u readings):

Class 1. 陳 Chou *d'ien* Ch'u *d'ien* Suei *d'ien*.

Class 2. 振 Chou *tien* Ch'u *tin* Suei *tsien*.

陳 was a Ch'u *d'ien*, and the Ch'u scribe chose 陳 as »phonetic«. But this Ch'u *d'ien* did not correspond to a Royal Chou *d'ien* of class 1 but to a Chou *d'ien* of class 2, and therefore, when we reconstruct, on the strength of the »phonetic« 陳, a Royal Chou reading *d'ien*, we are wrong; perhaps the word in question existed not as *d'ien* but as *d'ien* in Royal Chou, but is written with 陳 as »phonetic« because the character was invented, not in Chou but in Ch'u, where classes 1 and 2 were not distinguished but had coalesced into *-ien*. We cannot deny the risk of a mistake in such a case.

To sum up: we can confidently reconstruct the Royal Chou values of all *hie sheng* (according to the placing of their »phonetics« in the Shī rime system and to their Suei projections) which occur in several Chou texts. For rare characters in more peripheral Chou texts we are on more risky ground, but there are still very good chances that our reconstructions will be quite accurate. In rare cases we shall be slightly off the mark; those are the cases when the character was invented provincially (if that ever occurred), and at the same time the provincial dialect differed from the Royal Chou in the reading of this very word, yet not so strongly that the deviation is revealed to us (by the Suei pro-

jection falling outside the Shī rime class in question), and at the same time there was not even a regular parallelism between the provincial dialect and the Royal Chou in regard to the phonems of this word. Such cases will be rare indeed.

We have now answered our question A above: were the same phonetic loans made in early Chou as in the *siao chuan*, was the choice of phonograms made already in Shī king time? We have answered it in the affirmative. There remains our question B: were the additional, expletive radicals — in the thousands of cases in which they were present in the Ts'in and Han script — added already in Chou time, or did their addition to the characters constitute an innovation in 221 B. C.? Expressed in the terms of our example above: since the choice of phonograms was already made in early Chou, 因 'jen' 'rely on' being used as phonogram for 'jen' 'marriage' and 'jen' 'grey horse', were 女 and 馬 added: 姻, 驁 in early Chou or not? In the rime class -ien (*jen*), which we have studied above, the scribe who copied out his Shī in 800—600 B. C. had to write either:

麟象鄰頤頌聞申神電姻駟棗株漆臻新親薪賓賓

or: 父莽莽眞眞申申因因秦秦秦亲亲賓賓

In the latter case he would have used naked *kia tsie* phonograms, loan characters, without the addition of specifying radicals; in the former case he would have employed *kia tsie* loan characters with the specifying radicals added, i. e. real *hie sheng*, half a millennium before Ts'in time.

The choice between the two alternatives can hardly be left in doubt. It is quite possible to write without distinguishing radical as long as the subject is limited to a few well-known religious formulae (as on oracle bones or ritual bronzes). It is practically impossible when it comes to writing extensive lay texts with thousands of different words. The ambiguity in using one and the same *kia tsie* for a dozen different words would be unendurable. A few such cases survived (such as 求 'to pray') but the great majority of *kia tsie* loan characters must have been supplied with elucidating radicals (i. e. changed into *hie sheng*) in the moment there arose a real literature, i. e. already in Chou time. The *hie sheng* characters which we find in the Shuo wen are therefore, in principle and composition, those that were in regular use when the Chou culture flourished; only their technical execution was abbreviated and simplified and normalized through the *siao chuan* reform of Li Si's.

An obvious objection to this mode of reasoning is that the only Chinese script we know earlier than 221 B. C. is that on the oracle bones and the ritual bronzes and a few stone inscriptions. In those archaic documents there are, it is true, not only many *kia tsie*, such as we have discussed above, but also a number of real *hie sheng*, i. e. *kia tsie* furnished with extra radicals.¹⁾ But on the

¹⁾ Sometimes even a superfetation of radicals which is not found in later times.

whole the *hie sheng* are extremely scarce. One of the largest »radicals» in our present dictionaries is nr 140, 艹 'grass'. In the *Shuo wen* it has a very large section. In the Ts'in and Han inscriptions it is quite frequent. In the ritual bronze inscriptions of the Chou, on the contrary, there is hardly a single reliable example of this radical. How could this be explained if it were true that the regular *hie sheng*, with radicals, were fully current in the great literature of early and middle Chou, of which we have now no contemporaneous manuscripts? Why should the only documentary evidence from that epoch, the bronze inscriptions, directly discredit our conclusion? Must we not judge the lost script after the pattern of the survivals?

Not necessarily. There is here the difference between sacred script and profane script. The former is always much more conservative than the latter. An archaic simplicity and austerity is considered desirable and dignified. In the conventional and well-known formulae of the ritual bronzes there was little inconvenience in writing simple *kia tsie*, without radicals, such as 宀右 'pure happiness' for 純佑: it could entail no misunderstanding, and it looked infinitely more ancient and dignified. When it came to the needs of everyday life, its struggles and business intercourse, its manifold duties and functions, and when the scribe had to take down administrative data, Royal orders, and to keep accounts and so on, he was glad to be able to add to his *kia tsie* some elucidating radicals, which made all the crazy homophones or semi-homophones distinguishable. The radicals may have been, in a way, a parallel to the Japanese *furigana* (small *kana* at the side of the Chinese characters) of our day. In serious, dignified literature (such as scientific periodicals) there are no *furigana* to help you out with the reading; in newspapers and popular novels there are. It is quite possible that the elucidating radicals added to the naked *kia tsie* were originally such means of practical expediency and were therefore not considered ceremonial enough to be allowed in the ritual bronze texts of the ancestral temples. They may never the less have been in practical use in everyday life and in profane writings already in early Chou time.

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